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THE
SPANISH PASTORAL DRAMA

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To

MY FATHER

JAMES CRAWFORD

THIS LITTLE VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED

PREFACE.

IN the belief that a fairly intensive study must be made of the various types of Spanish dramatic literature of the sixteenth century before we can properly appreciate the importance of Lope de Vega and his contemporaries, I have here attempted to treat in some detail the development of the pastoral drama in Spain. I have included in the first chapter only the material which seemed necessary in order to show the sources from which the early plays of Enzina were derived and I have disregarded the comic scenes found in so many plays in which shepherds take part, since these belong, in my opinion, to the history of the farce. In the last chapter, I have merely tried to study pastoral themes up to the time when they were fused into the mythological and lyrical drama by Calderón de la Barca. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my friend and colleague, Dr. Hugo Albert Rennert, for valuable suggestions and criticisms.

J. P. W. C.

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CHAPTER I.

THE SPANISH DRAMA BEFORE ENZINA.

It has been generally conceded that the origin of the drama in Spain must be sought in the Church Liturgy. We have but few examples of early liturgical texts from Spain,¹ but there is sufficient evidence to prove that the development of the religious drama in Spain was analogous to that of other countries. The Mass in itself is essentially dramatic and it is known that at an early period the *Gloria in excelsis* was chanted antiphonally. In the ninth century the *Antiphonarium* of Gregory the Great was enriched by the insertion of new melodies for which certain texts called tropes were composed. A trope preserved in a tenth century manuscript from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Gall² contains a colloquy between the Maries and the angel at the sepulchre, and in a like manner the *Officium Pastorum* was based on a Christmas dialogue about the *praesepé* or cradle.

These tropes show the beginning of the liturgical drama and formed the basis for subsequent dramatic development. In the course of time new elements were added to the scene at the manger, such as the *Magi* or *Tres Reges*, a theme closely associated with the adoration of the shepherds. It has been shown that at an early date the liturgical Prophet play was combined with the older Adoration and Magi plays. The origin of the Prophet play is a pseudo-Augustinian sermon, *Contra Judaeos, Paganos et Arianos*, which was read in the

¹ Two liturgical Easter texts of the eleventh century from the Monastery of Silos, published by K. Lange, *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, München, 1887, 24 ff., show the beginning of dramatic development.

² E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Drama*, 1903, vol. ii, chap. xviii.

churches at Christmas time and is of such a form as to lend itself readily to dramatic representation.¹ The Old Testament witnesses to the coming of Christ were summoned, together with Vergil, the Sibyl and others who were believed to have foretold the Saviour's advent.

Although few liturgical texts have been discovered in Spain, Spanish literature may boast of possessing one of the earliest religious plays in the vernacular, the *Auto de los Reyes Magos*,² probably belonging to the end of the twelfth or early part of the thirteenth century and derived from one of the Latin Offices employed at Limoges, Rouen, Nevers, Compiègne and Orléans. We also have a grave-watcher's song, probably taken from an Easter play, in Berceo's *Duelo que hizo la virgen*, of the first half of the thirteenth century.

Apparently the edict of Pope Innocent III (1210), forbidding religious plays because of the secular elements which had been introduced, was not generally observed in Spain, for the oft-quoted passage of the *Siete Partidas* (1252-1257) expressly permits Christmas, Epiphany and Easter representations with certain restrictions.³ References to these plays in the fourteenth century are rare, but we may assume an uninterrupted development on the basis of documents of the fifteenth century. The Council of Aranda (1473), forbade the introduction of profane elements into religious festivals, but permitted serious performances. In the year 1462, the Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo with two pages performed a mask on Twelfth Night in which the presentation of gifts by the Wise Men to

¹ See the five articles of Marius Sepet published in the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. xxviii, pp. 1 and 211; vol. xxix, pp. 105 and 261 and vol. xxxviii, p. 397.

² For bibliography and discussion of the date, see Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, vol. ii, 2, 1897, p. 400 and James Fitzmaurice Kelly, *Historia de la literatura española*, 1913, pp. 11-13.

³ *Partida 1, Tit. VI, Ley XXXIV*. Quoted by Schack, *Historia de la literatura y del arte dramático en España*, Madrid, 1885, vol. i, pp. 219-20.

the Virgin was represented.¹ We also have an account of an elaborate Christmas play in Spanish produced by order of the Archbishop and Chapter of Saragossa in 1487 in honor of Ferdinand and Isabella, in which music and dancing formed an important part.²

The earliest descendant in Spanish of the *Officium Pastorum* which has been preserved is the *Representacion del Nacimiento de Nuestro Señor* by Gómez Manrique,³ written at the request of his sister María Manrique and represented by the nuns of the convent of Calabazanos on Christmas Eve, probably between the years 1467 and 1481. Joseph expresses his doubts concerning the purity of Mary and she prays that God may open his eyes to the truth. An angel then appears to Joseph, telling him that he is an arch-fool since Isaiah had prophesied that a virgin would give birth to a child and that the prophecy will be fulfilled in Mary. The latter then appears with the Christ Child in her arms and the announcement of the glad tidings is made to the shepherds who forthwith offer their homage to Jesus. Gabriel, Michael and Raphael then pledge their allegiance to the Virgin and present to the Child the symbols of his Passion. Here the liturgical drama has become secularized but not popularized. The song, *para callar al niño*, which closes the play is significant, for similar songs are found in nearly all the later shepherds' plays. It undoubtedly had its origin in the carols which were sung in connection with the Christmas service. No attempt is made to give a realistic picture of the life of shepherds and there is no comic element to detract from the sacredness of the subject.

¹ José Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, Madrid, vol. vii, 1865, 476 ff.

² Amador de los Ríos, *ibid.*, vol. vii, 484 ff., and Schack, *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 267-68.

³ Published by Paz y Melia, *Cancionero de Gómez Manrique*, vol. i, Madrid, 1885, pp. 198-206. See also Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, pp. 3-4.

We already find the fusion of comic and sacred elements accomplished in a portion of Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, first published about 1480.¹ This is a scene in dialogue form relating the appearance of the angels to the shepherds to announce the Nativity and written in the same *lenguaje villanesco* which had been used by the author of the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*. Fray Iñigo apologizes in this manner for the use of comic elements in a sacred subject:²

Por que non pueden estar
en vn rigor toda via
los archos para tirar,
suelenlos desenpulgar
alguna pieça del dia;
pues razon fue declarar
estas chufas de pastores
para poder recrear,
despertar y renouar
la gana delos lectores.

The shepherds see a figure flying toward them and Juan is thoroughly frightened:³

Si, para Sant Julian!
ya llega somo la peña.
Purre el çurron del pan,
acoger me he a Sant Millan,
que se me eriza la greña. . . .

Another shepherd asks mockingly:

Tu eres hi de Pascual,
el del huerte coraçon?
Torna, torna en ti, zagal,

¹ A few extracts were published by Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. vi, Madrid, 1896, p. ccix ff., and the *Vita Christi* was published in full by R. Foulché-Delbosc in the *Cancionero castellano del siglo XVI*, vol. i, *Nueva Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. xix, Madrid, 1912.

² *Cancionero castellano del siglo XVI*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

se que no nos hara mal
tan adonado garçon;
ponte me aqui ala pareja
y venga lo que viniere,
que la mi perra bermeja
le sobara la pelleja
a quien algo nos quisyere.

An angel then announces the birth of Christ and bids the shepherds seek the Child in the manger. Juan exclaims, on hearing the song:

Minguillo, daca, leuanta,
no me muestres mas enpacho,
que segund este nos canta
alguna cosa muy sancta
deue ser este mochacho,
y veremos a Maria,
que juro hago a mi vida,
avn quiçal preguntaria
en que manera podia
estar virgen y parida.

Mingo finally consents to obey the summons and tells his companion what gifts he should take:

mas lieua tu el caramiello,
los albogues y el rabe
con que hagas al chequielo
vn huerte son agudielo,
que quiça yo baylare.

The same simple rejoicing is shown in the account of another shepherd who relates what he has seen at the manger.

It is true that this scene was not represented, but we may look upon it as a faithful transcription of the performances which were given at that time either in the church itself or in the yard. We could hardly conceive of a serious writer inventing this scene in which the comic element plays so large a part. It is particularly interesting inasmuch as the shepherds here represented have the same characteristics that we find

in the plays of Enzina and later writers. They speak their own crude language, they are filled with terror at the sight of the angel and star, they sing and dance as they go to the manger and tell of their love for food. It was used as an introduction to the Nativity scene, but already we find the shepherds occupying a disproportionate place.

It is difficult to determine definitely the origin of the comic element which was an important factor in the development of the Spanish drama. We know that the reign of the Roman mime did not come to an end with the fall of Rome, nor was his voice silenced by the vigorous protests throughout the Middle Ages by Church Fathers and Church Councils. The frequent references to him, and after the ninth century, to the *joculator*, his twin-brother, are sufficient proof of his success as an entertainer of an idle crowd.¹ On holidays and at weddings, his presence was indispensable, and he even occasionally entered the churches to ply his profession. His accomplishments consisted in singing, playing musical instruments, exhibiting trained animals, astonishing the gaping rustics with acrobatic feats, and sometimes in performing plays. Of the latter we know nothing, save what we may glean from the earliest religious and secular texts. Their performances were often improvised and no one dreamed of preserving their *mimicae inceptae* and more highly developed plays. As Faral has said,² "Périssable comme la joie des banquets et des fêtes qu'ils égayaient, l'œuvre des mimes s'est perdue." The mere fact that we find adultery plays in which the deceived husband is ridiculed both in the repertoire of the Roman mimes and in the early Spanish farces, and that there are striking analogies, as for example, between the Roman *stupidus* and the Spanish *pastor* and *bobo*, is not sufficient to prove that these types are

¹ See Reich, *Der Mimus*, Berlin, 1903, and E. Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, vol. 187, Paris, 1910.

² P. 14.

derived from the early mimes.¹ It seems probable, however, that the Spanish *juglares* inherited from the mimes, "l'esprit mimique, esprit fort riche, qui s'exprime de manières très diverses, par des danses, des scènes muettes, des dialogues," and that the comic scenes in the early religious plays and the secular farces, represent a survival of the ancient spirit of the mimes. According to this theory, the comic elements in the religious plays and the early farces are independent of the liturgical drama.²

The debate may also be mentioned among the factors which contributed to the creation of the drama in Spain. A bibliography recently published³ shows the popularity of this form which appeared in various literatures under the name of *débat*.

¹ Africanus reproached Origen for accepting as authentic the story of the chaste Susanna since the manner in which Daniel discovered the guilt of the elders was conceived in the spirit of the burlesques of Philistion. Origen replied that if the same argument were valid, the contest of two women before Solomon to prove their right to a child might be placed in the same class. Reich, *ibid.*, vol. i, 2, p. 430. The story of Susanna frequently appeared on the stage in the sixteenth century. It was the subject of Juan de Pedraza's *Comedia de Sancta Susanna*, published in Gallardo's *Ensayo de una biblioteca de libros raros y curiosos*, vol. iv, no. 3648. The contest of two women for a child before Solomon is the theme of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa de Salomon*.

² In an article entitled, *The Pastor and Bobo in the Spanish Religious Drama of the Sixteenth Century*, published in the *Romanic Review*, vol. ii, pp. 376-401, I attempted to prove that the comic scenes in the religious plays and certain characters in the farses were derived from the shepherds' plays. M. Faral's book on the *jongleurs* in France has changed my opinion in the matter.

³ Moritz Steinschneider, *Rangstreit-Literatur*, published in the *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, 1908, vol. 155. For the Catalan *Mascarón*, an early example of the debate in Spain, but probably not a play, see J. P. W. Crawford, *The Catalan Mascarón and an Episode in Jacob van Maerlant's Merlijn*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxvi, 1911 and review by G. Huet, *Romania*, vol. xlvi, 1913, pp. 474-75.

disputation, contrasto, dialogue, combat, debate, altercatio, certamen and *conflictus*.¹ Many of these debates seem essentially undramatic, such as those between water and wine, the eye and the heart, Carnival and Lent, Summer and Winter, etc. We meet with a number of these themes in early Spanish literature,² especially in the courtly poetry of the fifteenth century, and some of them found their way into the early plays. The Carnival eclogue of Juan del Enzina describes the battle between Carnival and Lent; the *contrasto* between a knight and shepherdess which is the basis of the *pastourelle* motive, is the theme of the same author's first *egloga en reuesta de amores*; the discussion concerning the virtues and imperfections of women is found in Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores* and is the chief subject in Per Alvarez de Ayllón's *Comedia Tibalda*; the *Farsa o quasi comedia del soldado* of Lucas Fernández contains a dispute as to the relative superiority of military and pastoral life and Gil Vicente's *Auto dos quattro tempos* and *Triumpho do inverno* represent a variant of the well-known *Conflictus veris et hiemis*. It is evident that the debate was a contributing factor, although it could probably not have produced a drama independently.

Among the literary debates composed in Spain during the fifteenth century, one of the most important is the *Dialogo entre el Amor y un viejo*³ of Rodrigo Cota. An old man

¹ Steinschneider, *ibid.*, gives an important list of works dealing with the debate. James H. Hanford has published an article entitled *The Debate Element in the Elizabethan Drama* in the volume of *Anniversary Papers in honor of George L. Kittredge*, Boston, 1913.

² See *Elena y Maria (Disputa del clérigo y el caballero)*, a thirteenth century poem in Leonese dialect, published by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Revista de filología española*, vol. i, 1914, pp. 52-96.

³ Reprinted by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, vol. iv, Madrid, 1893, pp. 1-20 and also found in the *Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*, vol. i, Madrid, 1882. Another version which seems to be of a later date was published by Miola, *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica in memoria di Caix e Canello*, Firenze, 1886.

who has retired from the world with its many trials and cares is accosted by Cupid who reproaches him for showing so little respect for his power. The old man replies bitterly that he is well acquainted with the deceits of Love and charges him with causing all the troubles of life. Cupid pleads his own cause so eloquently that the old man proclaims himself a servant of Love, whereupon the tiny god upbraids him for his folly, ridicules his age and promises him untold suffering as his reward. The old man then realizes to his sorrow that he has been tricked. There is no doubt that Enzina knew this dialogue and made use of it in composing his *Egloga de Cristino y Febea*.¹

¹ I have not included the *Celestina* among the precursors of Encina since its influence is found only in one scene of the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*.

CHAPTER II.

THE PLAYS OF JUAN DEL ENZINA.

JUAN DEL ENZINA, rightly called the “patriarch of the Spanish drama,” was born in the year 1469, probably at the town of Enzina, near Salamanca.¹ He studied at the University of Salamanca, where he probably obtained both his baccalaureate and licentiate, since he is mentioned with these degrees in later documents. His *Aucto del Repelón*, the earliest Spanish farce known, gives a picture of student life at Salamanca. It is likely that there he came under the influence of Lebrixia to whose *Gramatica castellana* Enzina was indebted in the composition of his *Arte de la poesia castellana*.² A considerable portion of his verse dates from his student days, since he tells us in the dedication of his *Cancionero*, directed to Ferdinand and Isabella, that his poems were composed between the age of fourteen and twenty-five. His interest in classical studies is attested by his paraphrase of Vergil's Eclogues, dedicated to the young Prince John in 1492.

While at the university, he won the favor of its Chancellor, Gutierre de Toledo, who was probably instrumental in securing for him a position in the service of his brother, D. Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba. He probably entered the latter's household in the autumn of the year 1492, since he says in his first eclogue, which was almost certainly composed

¹ On the life of Enzina, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos*, vol. vii, pp. i-c; Alfredo Alvarez de la Villa, *El Aucto del Repelón publicado con un estudio crítico-biográfico*, Paris, 1913; Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, and the introduction to Dr. Kohler's edition of the *Representaciones* of Enzina, published in the *Biblioteca Romanica*, Strasburg, 1914. I have used the edition of the *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, published by the Spanish Academy at Madrid in 1893.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos*, vol. vii, p. iii.

in that year, that he had recently entered the Duke's service, and he held there the position of musician and court poet until at least the year 1498. During these years, he composed for representation before the Duke of Alba and his household the eight plays included in the first edition of his *Cancionero* (1496) and also the so-called *Egloga de las grandes lluvias*, performed on Christmas Eve of the year 1498. The latter play contains a passage from which we may infer that he sought the post of *cantor* in the Cathedral of Salamanca.

We do not know the date of his first journey to Italy. He may have been among the thousands of pilgrims attracted to the Holy City for the Jubilee of 1500, and remained there hoping for preferment from the Valencian Rodrigo Borgia, who had been elevated to the Papacy in 1492 with the title of Alexander VI. We do not know the length of his residence in Rome at this time, except that on September 15, 1502, he obtained an appointment from the Pope to a benefice at Salamanca, in which document he is described as "Clerigo salmantino, Bachiller, familiar de S. S. y residente en la curia romana."

We do not know whether he assumed these new duties at once, or whether he tarried for some time in Rome. It is evident, however, that he retained the Pope's friendship, for in 1509 he received an appointment from the Papal Nuncio to an archdeaconship and canonship at Malaga and took possession of these offices at the beginning of the year 1510. He was evidently regarded as an important personage, since he was employed by the Chapter on various missions. However, his relations with the Chapter were somewhat strained, chiefly because he had not taken orders, and also because of his frequent absences from his duties.¹

¹ On Enzina's life at Malaga, see Rafael Mitjana, *Sobre Juan del Encina, músico y poeta. Nuevos datos para su biografía*, Málaga, 1895, the same writer's article entitled *Nuevos documentos relativos a Juan del Encina*, published in *Revista de filología española*, vol. i, 1914, pp. 274-288, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. vii, pp. xi-xiii.

On May 17, 1512, he obtained the permission of the Chapter to go to Rome, and probably remained there until July of the following year. It is difficult to overestimate the inspiration which Enzina must have received as a result of his visit to the center of artistic and literary activity at the culminating period of the Renaissance. In 1506 the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's had been laid with Bramante as master of the works. Toward the end of the year 1511, Raphael's frescoes in the Camera della Segnatura were completed and about a year later Michael Angelo's frescoes on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel were unveiled. Enzina was in Rome when Julius II died and when the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent was elected to the Papacy on March 11, 1513. He must have been in the crowd that witnessed the magnificent ceremony of taking possession of the Lateran on April eleventh, or perhaps took part in the procession as a member of the Papal choir. We do not know when he secured the Pope's favour, but the fact that Leo X aided him in his subsequent career proves that he had a liking for the poet. It is probable that Enzina obtained the Pope's protection because of his accomplishments as a musician, for it is well known that Leo X had a special preference for music, drew to his court the best musicians of Italy and abroad, and raised the Papal choir to a high degree of perfection through his interest and patronage.¹ It has been frequently stated that Enzina held the position of Director of the Papal choir, but this office was only conferred upon bishops and high ecclesiastics.²

We have documentary evidence that he had returned to Málaga by August, 1513, and that on March 31, 1514, he announced his intention of returning to Rome. The objections of the Chapter were overruled by a Bull of Leo X (October 14, 1514): "sobre la diligencia de su ausencia, para que es-

¹ Dr. Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*. London, 1908, vol. viii, pp. 144-49.

² Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid, 1890, p. 27.

tando fuera de su iglesia, en corte de Roma, por suya propria cabsa o ajena, no pudiesse ser privado, molestado ny perturbado, no obstante la institucion, ereccion o estatutos de la dicha iglesia," a document which shows that he had already won the Pope's favour.¹

Enzina spent the year 1515 at Rome, and shortly after his return to Spain, received on May 21, 1516, an order from the Bishop of Malaga to appear at Valladolid under penalty of excommunication. We do not know the reason for this summons, but apparently the protection of the Pope continued, for he was appointed to the lucrative post of "Sub Colector de Espolios de la Cámara Apostólica" which permitted him to absent himself from his duties at Malaga. Finally, on February 21, 1519, he resigned his position at Malaga and received in exchange a benefice at Morón. It seems that he never assumed the duties of this latter position, for he was appointed Prior of the church of Leon by the Pope in March of the same year and took possession of that post by proxy, since he was still residing in Rome.

He had now reached his fiftieth year and he determined to cast aside worldly affairs, take orders and go on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He gives an account of this journey in his *Tribagia, o via sacra de Hierusalem*, an insipid composition in *coplas de arte mayor*, published at Rome after his return, in 1521(?). He left Rome in the spring of 1519 and at Venice met D. Fadrique Enriquez, Marqués de Ribera, who was also on his way to Jerusalem. Enzina describes their journey in great detail. The sight of the sacred places evidently produced a profound impression upon the poet, although his account betrays no sign of inspiration. He seems to have been in a deeply penitent mood, perhaps for the heterodoxy and blasphemy contained in the *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* and *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, spent three nights in prayer at the Holy Sepulchre and said his first mass on Mount Zion.

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. vii, p. xiv.

Returning to Rome in the autumn of 1520, he probably remained there until 1526 when his name first appears on the minutes of the Chapter of the church of Leon.¹ Documents recently discovered show that he was awarded exceptional honours by the Chapter and that he fulfilled his duties as Prior from October 2, 1526 until October 2, 1528. The place of his death, which occurred between January 27, 1529 and January 10, 1530, is not known.

In the prologue to the first edition of his *Cancionero*, which appeared at Salamanca in 1496, Enzina complains that he has been obliged to publish his works because many of his compositions had been so corrupted that he no longer recognized them, and he also wished to silence his detractors, who claimed that his wit was limited to "cosas pastoriles e de poca autoridad," whereas "no menos ingenio requieren las cosas pastoriles que otras." He also speaks of these slanderers in his first eclogue.²

We are not concerned here with the non-dramatic compositions of Enzina, such as the *Arte de la poesia castellana*, his paraphrase of Vergil's Eclogues, the *Triunfo de la Fama* and the many religious and secular poems found in his own *Cancionero* and in other anthologies of the period.³ The first edition of his *Cancionero* which appeared at Salamanca in 1496, contained the following plays:

1. Egloga representada en la noche de la Natividad de nuestro Salvador.
2. Egloga representada en la misma noche de Navidad.
3. Representacion a la muy bendita pasion y muerte de nuestro precioso Redentor.
4. Representacion a la santisima resurreccion de Cristo.

¹ For Enzina's residence at León, see Eloy Diaz-Jiménez y Molleda, *Juan del Encina en León*, Madrid, 1909.

² *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, ed. by Cañete and Barbieri, Madrid, 1893, pp. 6-9.

³ Menéndez y Pelayo studied the lyric poetry of Enzina in his usual masterly way in vol. vii of his *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*.

5. Egloga representada en la noche postrera de Carnal.
6. Egloga representada en la mesma noche de Antruejo o Carnestollendas.
7. Egloga representada en requesta de unos amores.
8. Egloga representada por las mesmas personas.

This edition was reprinted at Seville in 1501 and at Burgos in 1505.

The edition of the *Cancionero* which appeared at Salamanca in 1507 contains the following additions:

9. Otra egloga representada en la noche de Navidad (Egloga de las grandes lluvias).
10. Otra representacion al nuestro muy esclarecido Principe Don Juan de Castilla, Del Amor.

The edition of Salamanca, 1509, contains two additional plays:

11. Otra egloga de tres pastores (Egloga de Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio).
12. Coplas del Repelon (Aucto del Repelon).

Two plays, (13) Egloga de Cristina y Febea and (14) Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano, were not included in any edition of the *Cancionero*.¹

Of these plays, the Passion and Easter *representaciones* are the direct descendants of the liturgical drama. The two Christmas *eglogas* (2) and (9) represent, especially in the latter play, the fusion of popular comic elements with the religious drama. In the second Carnival eclogue we find a combination of popular elements with a familiar debate theme. This play would properly be treated in a history of the farce in Spain, and the same is, of course, true of the *Aucto del Repelon*. The remaining plays may be divided into three classes according to the source of the pastoral inspiration. 1. Popular elements influenced by Vergil's Eclogues, including (1)

¹ I have not included in this list the *Egloga interlocutoria*, attributed to Enzina by Salvá, *Catálogo*, vol. i, 1872, p. 434. See also Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, pp. 32-34.

and (5); 2. Derived from the *Cancionero* literature, including (7), (8) and (10); Derived from imitation of Italian eclogues, including (11), (13) and (14).

The first two eclogues were presented on Christmas Eve, probably of the year 1492, in a hall or chapel of the palace of the Duke of Alba.¹ They are composed in the rude *sayagués*² dialect in nine-line strophes, with a *villancico* of seven stanzas at the close of the second. The first eclogue serves merely as a prologue to the second. The shepherd Juan enters, extolling the Duke and Duchess. Mateo objects to his presence, declaring that his works are not worth two straws. Juan replies, promising to publish his poetry which will silence all adverse criticism and concludes with praise of his patrons. This is simply a *pièce de circonstance*, without any dramatic purpose, and designed only to flatter his protectors and at the same time to afford him an opportunity to reply to his detractors. The first idea of the play is probably to be found in the custom of making New Year's gifts with some ceremony, but the form, as well as the idea of treating one's own affairs under pastoral disguise, was almost certainly suggested by Vergil's Eclogues. To the latter, Enzina was also undoubtedly indebted for his use of the word *egloga* to designate his plays.

The two Carnival plays (5) and (6), were performed at the palace of the Duke of Alba on Shrove Tuesday, probably of the year 1494.³ The first, which merely serves as a prologue to the second, is a eulogy of the Duke of Alba in pastoral fashion, suggested by Vergil's fourth eclogue.⁴ It consists of

¹ This date, which has been generally accepted by historians of Spanish literature, has been recently questioned by Dr. Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, p. 20, on the ground that Rojas's oft-quoted passage in his *Loa de la Comedia* does not necessarily assign the year 1492 for the representation of Enzina's first play.

² There is good reason to believe that the language used by the shepherds is purely conventional, and not based upon the local dialect of Sayago. See also Morel-Fatio, *Romania*, vol. x, p. 240.

³ For a discussion of the date, see Kohler, *ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

⁴ A somewhat similar production is the eclogue of Francisco de

a dialogue between Bras and Beneito, probably Enzina himself, concerning the rumored departure of the Duke of Alba to fight against France, in which the shepherds express the sorrow which they will feel at his absence. Another shepherd, Pedruelo, announces that peace has been signed between Spain and France, and the play ends with a villancico. The treaty referred to was negotiated by Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles VIII in September, 1493, according to the terms of which Rousillon was ceded to Spain.

The *Egloga representada en requesta de unos amores*, performed before the Duke of Alba and his household, probably on Christmas day, 1494, is conceived in an entirely different spirit from the plays already examined. While the pastoral element in the aforementioned plays is derived from an attempt to give a realistic representation of everyday life, the theme of the *requesta de unos amores* is found in the *Cancionero* literature of the period and is distinctly aristocratic in tone.

The shepherd Mingo, although married, courts the shepherdess Pascuala and urges her to accept his love. His plea is interrupted by the arrival of a Knight who soon proves to be a rival. The Knight compliments the maiden upon her beauty, and Pascuala coquettishly replies:

Madrid, written toward the end of the year 1494. "en la cual se introducen tres pastores: uno llamado Evandro, que publica la paz; otro llamado Peligro, que representa la persona del rey de Francia Carlos, que quiere perturbar la paz que Evandro publica; otro llamado Fortunato, cuya persona representa el rey don Fernando, que tambien quiere romper la guerra con el rey de Francia llamado Peligro, y razonan muchas cosas." See Cañete, *Farsas y Eglogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano fechas por Lúcas Fernández*, Madrid, 1867, p. 4v and Kohler, *ibid.*, pp. 158-60. Later allegorical plays with political subject are the *Egloga real compuesta por el Bachiller de la Pradilla* (1517), published by Kohler, *ibid.*, p. 200 and the *Farsa sobre la concordia del Emperador con el Rey de Francia* (1529), by Fernán López de Yanguas, analyzed by Cotarelo y Mori, *Revista de Archivos*, 1902, vol. vii, p. 253 and published by Urban Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1913. I am unable to accept as convincing Sr. Cotarelo's identification of the Bachiller de la Pradilla and López de Yanguas.

Esos que sois de ciudad
Perchufais huerte de nos.

He promises her wealth if she will accept his love, but Mingo bids her beware of a traitor who has already deceived other maidens. The gentleman threatens him with violence and sneeringly asks of what value is his love since he has nothing to offer her. In reply, Mingo recites a long list of homely gifts¹ which he will present to her and finally suggests that the shepherdess choose between them. The Knight agrees to this, and Pascuala says:

Mia fe, de vosotros dos?
Escudero, mi señor,
si os quereis tornar pastor,
mucho mas os quiero a vos.

The courtier gladly accepts the terms, offers Mingo his friendship, and the play ends with a song.

The basis of the play is the courtship of a shepherdess by a knight, a theme which we find in its most archaic form in the famous *Contrasto* of Cielo d'Alcamo, and later in the French *pastourelle*. The *Jeu de Robin et Marion* of Adam de la Halle represents the same sort of transition from lyric poetry to drama as we find in this eclogue of Enzina. It is not within the province of this monograph to study the origins of this celebrated *débat amoureux* or to attempt to determine its relations with the popular May games.² In the hands of the *jongleurs*, the tone of the *pastourelle* became courtly and the great majority of the examples which we possess may be easily recognized as the offspring of a knightly minstrelsy. The *vilain* is

¹ A recital of the gifts in courtship seems to be inherent in pastoral poetry. We find it in the eleventh Idyl of Theocritus, in Boccaccio's *Ameto* and in many later productions.

² See Alfred Jeanroy, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen Age*, Paris, 1904, pp. 10-44; Gaston Paris, Review of the same published in the *Journal des Savants*, 1891-92; Joseph Bédier, *Les Fêtes de mai et les commencemens de la poésie lyrique au Moyen Age*, *Revue des Deux mondes*, vol. 135, 1896, pp. 146 ff.

often held up to scorn.¹ The theme became popular in Portugal and also appears in the *serranillas* of Juan Ruiz, the burlesque element in which is akin to some of the Latin *pastoralia*, and in a few charming poems composed by the Marqués de Santillana. The *requesta de amores* theme, which is identical with the *pastourelle*, is found occasionally in the *Cancionero* literature of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Enzina himself composed a sort of *contrasto* between a shepherd and knight, published in the *Cancionero Musical*. The pastoral motive as treated in the eclogue is courtly in spirit. In the contest for the fair Pascuala, the shepherd is worsted and his efforts at lovemaking doubtless provoked a laugh from the gentlemen and ladies who witnessed the performance.² It is true that the knight was obliged to don a shepherd's garb in order to win the maiden, but this was merely a literary convention.

The *Egloga representada por las mesmas personas* was performed after an interval of a year, probably on Christmas day, 1495, and consists of two scenes. In a brief prologue, Mingo expresses his fears on entering the presence of his lord and lady, but encouraged by Gil, offers them his gift:

Recebid la voluntad,
tan buena y tanta, que sobra;
los defectos de mi obra
suplalos vuestra bondad.
Siempre, siempre me mandad,
que aquesto estoy deseando;
mi simpleza perdonad,
y a Dios, a Dios os quedad,
que me esta Gil esperando.

The poet here refers to his collected works which were published at Salamanca the following year.

¹ S. L. Galpin, *Cortois and Vilain. A Study of the Distinctions made between them by the French and Provençal Poets of the 12th, 13th and 14th Centuries*, New Haven, 1905.

² In Old French and Provençal poetry, the *vilain* was considered outside the pale of courtly love. See Galpin, *ibid.*, pp. 62-66.

In rather awkward fashion we are informed that a year has passed since the incidents described in the preceding play. The shepherd Gil is the knight whom Pascuala had preferred to Mingo, but he wearis of pastoral life and longs to return to the palace with Pascuala. She dons the robes of a lady and astonishes both Mingo and his wife Menga, with her beauty, a transformation which Mingo ascribes to the power of Love, to whom all things are possible. Gil urges Mingo to accompany them but the shepherd hesitates, alleging his ignorance of courtly manners and also because he regrets to forsake the simple pleasures of pastoral life, which he apostrophizes in a few lines that reveal true poetic feeling. The idea of becoming a gentleman appeals, however, to his vanity, and with evident satisfaction he puts on his best clothes and adopts the airs of a courtier. He is also delighted with the transformation in Menga, whom Pascuala has attired as a lady. The play ends with a song in praise of the omnipotence of Love. Here the well known *contrasto* on the relative advantages of city and country life¹ is combined with the theme of the power of Love, frequently treated in the fifteenth-century *Cancioneros* and ultimately derived from Ovid's *Ars amatoria*.

The *Representacion del Amor* deals almost exclusively with the theme of the omnipotence of Love. It was first published in the edition of Enzina's *Cancionero* which appeared in 1507, but was written in 1497² and performed at Salamanca before Prince John of Castille, probably in honour of his marriage to Margarita of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian, which was solemnized at Burgos on April 2, 1497. It consists of forty-five *décimas*, and was Enzina's first attempt at a strictly court performance.

Cupid enters, armed with bow and arrow, asserting his

¹ This is found in the tenth-century Latin *Invitatio amicæ*, in one of the *Carmina burana* and in Luca Pulci's *Driadeo d'amore*. See Enrico Carrara, *La poesia pastorale*, Milano, 1909, p. 168.

² Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios de historia literaria de España*, Madrid, 1901, p. 179.

power over all mortals, in terms which closely resemble the boasting loquaciousness of Amor in Rodrigo Cota's *Dialogo entre el amor y un viejo*. He meets the shepherd Pelayo, who failing to recognize him, asks by whose permission he hunts on forbidden territory. Cupid threatens to punish him for his temerity, Pelayo refuses to heed his warning and is laid low by one of Cupid's arrows. After the tiny god departs, the shepherd Juanillo finds Pelayo lamenting his wound, and on learning the identity of his assailant, severely reproves him for his folly in trying to resist the all-powerful Cupid. A knight who learns the cause of Pelayo's injury expresses surprise that the god who had vanquished Solomon, David and Samson should have met with so little respect at the hands of a shepherd. The hapless Pelayo asks anxiously whether his wound is mortal and the knight replies:

El Amor es de tal suerte
que de mill males de muerte
que nos trata,
el peor es que no mata.

It is evident that in this production Enzina dramatized a theme well known in the *Cancionero* literature of his time and which was eminently well suited to the celebration of the marriage of Prince John. The treatment of the subject is conventional and shows no advance in dramatic technique over the earlier productions. An element of burlesque is introduced in the description of the love-sickness of the shepherd Pelayo, which is employed in many of the later pastorals.¹

In the ten plays already mentioned, composed before Enzina's first journey to Italy, the author shows no influence of foreign models. His indebtedness to Vergil, which has been

¹ We find the resistance offered by a shepherd to Cupid in a play written or staged by Niccolò da Correggio at Ferrara in 1506, which is described as follows: "Veneno poi alcuni pastori de li quali uno imberbe vilipéndendo Cupido et dicendo non credere ni haver tema de le forze sue, et l'altro contrastando cum epso," etc. See Luzio-Renier, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. xxi, p. 263.

overestimated by many critics, is limited to his use of the pastoral form in the prologues to the first Christmas eclogue and first Carnival play. The religious plays were the logical outgrowth of the liturgical drama, and the pastoral element in the Carnival play was derived from the realistic representation of the shepherds in the Christmas performances. The two eclogues *en requesta de unos amores* and the *Representacion del Amor* represent a dramatization of themes found in the lyric poetry of his own country.

We do not know the date of Enzina's first visit to Italy, but it is certain that he was living at Rome in 1502. The intense literary activity of Italy must have awakened his interest, particularly the recent innovations in dramatic literature with which he certainly became familiar. The Italian versions of Plautus and Terence which had appeared at Ferrara, Mantua, Rome, Florence and other cities must have attracted his attention, but he was especially interested in a new form of pastoral drama which had been developed, compared with which his own pastoral plays must have seemed crude and unfinished. Poliziano's *Orfeo* had been performed at the Court of Mantua in 1471, and this was the first of a long series of mythological and allegorical plays, many of which treated political matters or the love affairs of the poet's patron. Bernardo Pulci's translation of Vergil's Eclogues, completed in 1471, was followed by Italian eclogues composed by Leon Battista Alberti, Girolamo Benivieni, Jacopo Fiorino de' Boninsegni of Siena, Francesco Arsocchi and Boiardo. These were for the most part imitations of Vergil and were not intended for representation. At a little later period, however, it became the fashion to perform pastoral eclogues on festival occasions at the great courts. The eclogues of Serafino Aquilano (1466-1500) were recited in public at Rome; Galeotto del Carretto praised the election of Alexander VI to the Papacy in an eclogue which was probably represented, and at least several of the eclogues of Antonio Tebaldi or Tebaldeo, composed before 1499, were recited. We shall see that the three plays composed by Enzina after his first visit to Rome, namely, the *Egloga de tres pas-*

tores (or *de Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio*), *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* and *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, show the influence of Italian literature, and that one of them is directly derived from an Italian eclogue.

The *Egloga de tres pastores*, otherwise known as *Egloga de Fileno, Zambardo y Cardonio*, was first published in the 1509 edition of Enzina's *Cancionero*. Various dates have been assigned for the composition of this play. Cañete declares that it was written between 1505 and 1509. Sr. Cotarelo y Mori assigns it to 1497 on the ground that Lucas Fernández refers to it in his *Farsa o cuasi comedia del soldado*, which must have been composed in that year since it contains a reference to Enzina's *Representacion del Amor*, performed in the year 1497.¹ We may accept Dr. Kohler's argument that the passage in Fernández's play does not necessarily refer to Enzina's *Representacion del Amor*,² and the fact that the *Egloga de tres pastores* is derived from an eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo which was not published until 1499, offers conclusive proof that it must be dated during or after Enzina's first visit to Italy. Dr. Kohler argues³ that it was composed between 1507 and 1509 on the ground that it would have been published in the edition of the *Cancionero* which appeared in the former year if it had been written at that time. This date is the most satisfactory which we can arrive at with the evidence at hand, although I am inclined to believe that it was composed during Enzina's first residence in Italy as the conditions for the performance of such a play were more favourable at Rome than in Spain.

The argument of the *Egloga de tres pastores* is briefly as follows. The shepherd Fileno tells his friend Zambardo of the sorrow which the indifference of the shepherdess Cefira has caused him and asks to be allowed to relate his troubles. Zambardo offers to aid the unhappy lover, but though the spirit

¹ Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios de Historia literaria de España*, Madrid, 1901, pp. 168-171.

² *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, p. 45.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.

is willing, the flesh is weak, for he falls asleep while Fileno pours out the story of the wrong he must endure. When Fileno sees that he can receive no sympathy in that quarter, he bursts out in a furious invective against the god of Love, and then summons his friend Cardonio, telling him the cause of his suffering. Cardonio counsels moderation, objecting that his friend blames all women for the cruelty of one. This is followed by a sort of *contrasto*, in which Fileno attacks women with the bitterness of Boccaccio in the *Corbaccio*, to which he himself refers. Cardonio replies, alleging the virtues of women and mentioning those who are held in esteem by men. Cardonio then declares that he must leave Fileno in order to look after his flock. As he departs, Fileno intimates that he will not long survive his sorrow. When left alone, he curses Cefira,¹ takes a touching farewell of his flock and pipe, calls upon death in rhetorical fashion and stabs himself. Cardonio, anxious over the condition of Fileno, returns to the spot and sees him lying on the ground, his body stained with blood. He breaks out into mourning over the death of his friend, calls Zambardo to aid in the burial and inscribes an epitaph over the tomb of Fileno.

The play is composed in eighty-eight octaves in *coplas de arte mayor*, Enzina's first and only attempt to use this meter for dramatic composition. It shows more power and seriousness of purpose than Enzina had hitherto displayed. Love is here no trifling matter, as in the two eclogues *en requesta de unos amores*, but a consuming passion which drives the hapless Fileno to his death. The dialogue is well sustained, although the language is stilted. It is the first tragedy of the Spanish theatre and occupies the same position in the drama as the *Carcel de Amor* of Diego de San Pedro in Spanish fiction. It

¹ The stanza commencing, *Maldigo aquel dia, el mes y aun el año*, p. 218 of the *Teatro completo*, resembles some of the fifteenth-century Italian *rispetti* beginning with the word *maledetto*. See D'Ancona, *La Poesia popolare italiana*, Livorno, 1906, p. 510 and R. T. Hill, *The Enueg and Plazer, Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. xxx, 1915, p. 50.

won the approval of Juan de Valdés in the *Dialogo de la lengua*, although he preferred the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*.

The *Egloga de tres pastores* shows an enormous advance in dramatic art over earlier Spanish plays, due to the use of Italian material, but at least one episode is a reminiscence of his own Christmas eclogues, namely, the scene at the opening in which Zambardo falls asleep while Fileno is mourning his unrequited love for Cefira. It is interesting to find the burlesque element appearing in what we may rightly consider the first serious Spanish play. The dispute between Fileno and Cardonio concerning the relative virtues and vices of women is the first example of the dramatic treatment of a theme which occupied to so great a degree the attention of the misogynistic and philogynistic poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries¹ and which is later encountered in the *Farsa del matrimonio* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, the *Comedia Tibalda* of Per Alvarez de Ayllón and other plays.

Menéndez y Pelayo, having in mind only the *Cassaria* and *I Suppositi* of Ariosto, the *Calandria* of Cardinal Bibbiena and the *Mandragola* of Machiavelli, denied the influence of Italian literature upon the *Egloga de tres pastores* and declared that the tragic *dénouement* was suggested by the *Celestina*² and *Cárcel de Amor*. Dr. Kohler denies the influence of these Spanish works³ and cites three Italian plays, the plots of which resemble somewhat the argument of Enzina's eclogue. These are the *Filauro* by Bernardo Filostrato, an *Egloga pastorale* of Baldassare Taccone and the *Egloga pastorale di Flavia*. Of the first of these nothing is known except that it was called *atto tragico* by Crescimbeni. In the second, Pheleno relates that he is in love with a nymph who prefers the service of

¹ See A. Farinelli, *Note sulla fortuna del Corbaccio nella Spagna medievale*, published in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Adolfo Mussaffia*, Halle, 1905, pp. 401-60 and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología*, vol. v.

² *Antología*, vol. vii, pp. lxxxvi-xc.

³ *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, pp. 126-129.

Diana to that of Venus and when his friend Aminta wishes to lead him away, the unhappy lover objects, preferring to die rather than abandon the search for his nymph. Still closer, says Dr. Kohler, is the resemblance between Enzina's play and the *Egloga pastorale di Flavia*.¹ Fileno tells his friend Silverio of his hopeless love for a nymph and on remaining alone, is about to take his life when the maiden arrives opportunely to stay his hand, declaring that women can not declare their feelings and that they must be understood although they do not speak. It is true that there is a slight similarity between these compositions, but none of them can in any way be regarded as the source of the *Egloga de tres pastores*.²

The source of the *Egloga de tres pastores* is the second eclogue³ of Antonio Tebaldi or Tebaldeo, who was born at Fer-

¹ This eclogue must have been composed before 1503. See Carrara, *La poesia pastorale*, p. 214. Dr. Kohler, following Carducci, *Su l'Aminta del T. Tasso*, Firenze, 1896, assigns it to the year 1528. Through the kindness of my friend, Mr. Vincenzo di Santo, I have a copy of the *Egloga di Flavia*, preserved at the Biblioteca Communale of Siena in the collection of *Commedie dei Rozzi*, with the catalogue number, Q, VII, 47.

² The similarity in the name Fileno proves nothing since it is found in many of the early Italian eclogues. Señor Cotarelo, in his *Estudios de historia literaria*, p. 170, mentions the following Italian play, a copy of which was found by Gallardo in the Biblioteca Colombina, which he assumes to be a translation, imitation or extract of Enzina's play, basing his opinion on the similarity of the names Fileno and Saphyra (Cefira): *Eglogha pastorica asdruciolo di Phylenio Gallo da Montiano. Interlocutori, Phylenio et Saphyra, Nympha. Stampata in Siena p. M. di B. F. xxx de Iuglio 1524.* He also includes this play as Number 147 among the rare Italian works published in his *Catálogo de obras dramáticas, impresas, pero no conocidas hasta el presente con un apéndice sobre algunas piezas raras ó no conocidas de los antiguos teatros francés e italiano*, Madrid, 1902. This play by the Sienese Phylenio Gallo, composed as early as 1497, has been reprinted by Percopo, *La prima imitazione del l'Arcadia*, Napoli, 1894. It has nothing common with Enzina's eclogue except the names of the chief characters.

³ I pointed out the source of this play in an article entitled *The Source of Juan del Encina's Egloga de Fileno y Zambardo*, published in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xxx, 1914.

rara in 1463.¹ He resided at the court of the Este family and served as preceptor in Italian poetry to the Princess Isabella. In the year 1496 he went to Mantua where he remained four years under the protection of the Marquis Francesco. Toward the end of 1499 he returned to Ferrara and became the secretary of Lucrezia Borgia. He went to Rome about the year 1513, where he became intimate with Bembo, Castiglione and Raphael. When the Imperial troops sacked the Holy City in 1527, he lost all his property and became the bitter enemy of Charles V. He died on November 4, 1537. His Italian verse, consisting of four pastoral eclogues, epistles in *terza rima* and some three hundred sonnets, the extravagant conceits of which make him a precursor of the poets of the Seicento,² were published in 1499 by his cousin Jacopo Tebaldeo, without the author's knowledge. His verses were highly esteemed by his contemporaries and eleven editions of his Italian poetry appeared between 1499 and 1550. It is likely that his eclogues were intended for representation, for we know that one of which he was the author was performed at Ferrara during the Carnival of 1506,³ and another in 1505. To Tebaldeo has been generally attributed the *rifacimento* in five acts of Poliziano's *Orfeo*.

His second eclogue consists of 251 lines in *terza rima*.⁴ The

¹ For the biography of Tebaldeo, see Vittorio Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, Milano, pp. 389-391; Luzio-Renier, *La cultura e le relazioni letterarie di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga*, *Giornale storico della litteratura italiana*, vol. xxxiii, 1899, pp. 1-62; F. Caviechi, *Intorno al Tebaldeo*, *Giorn. stor. della let. ital.*, supplemento, no. 8, 1905; D'Ancona, *Studj sulla letteratura italiana de' primi secoli*, pp. 191-202 and E. G. Gardner, *Dukes and Poets in Ferrara*, New York, pp. 470-76.

² See D'Ancona, *Del secentismo nella poesia cortigiana del secolo XV*, in *Studj sulla letteratura italiana de' primi secoli*, Ancona, 1884.

³ G. Campori, *Notizie per la vita di L. Ariosto*, Firenze, 1871, p. 67 and *Giorn. stor. della let. ital.*, vol. xxxi, 1898, p. 115.

⁴ The text which I have used is contained in Vol. XVI of the *Parnaso italiano*, *Egloghe boscherecce del secolo XV-XVI*, Venezia, 1785, pp. 30-35.

interlocutors are two shepherds, Tarsi and Damone. Tarsi asks Damone the cause of his sorrow. Damone in reply asks to be left alone for he can no longer enjoy the society of men and bids his friend inquire no further concerning the reason of his grief. Tarsi pleads that their long friendship justifies this confidence and again asks him to reveal his secret. Damone rather brusquely replies that he wishes to be alone, and Tarsi, apologizing for having been insistent, says that he will go to look after his flock. When Damone remains alone, he declares that he is ready for death since Amarilli turns a deaf ear to his wooing. As he stabs himself, he bids a tender farewell to his sheep, now left without a shepherd, and with his last breath pardons the maiden for her cruelty.

Tarsi returns, still worried over the change which has come about in his friend. He sees Damone lying on the ground and his sheep scattered. On drawing nearer, he sees the pool of blood in which he lies and the dagger in his heart. He tenderly mourns his death and reproaches himself for having left the love-lorn Damone. He prepares the body for burial and composes an epitaph for his tomb.

It is of interest to note the changes made by Enzina in adapting this eclogue. He expands the Italian work of two hundred and fifty-one lines into a play consisting of thirty-seven pages in the printed version. He introduces a third character, the shepherd Zambardo, probably in order to give greater variety and also because it afforded him an opportunity for comic effect. While in the original, Damone refuses to disclose the cause of his grief and accuses his friend with being importunate, in the Spanish play Fileno is only too ready to confide in the other two shepherds. Enzina transformed into a real play what is hardly more than a literary exercise. The long discussion between Fileno and Cardonio regarding the virtues and imperfections of women is not found in the Italian work. When the love-sick shepherd remains alone, however, the similarity between the two eclogues is marked as a few examples will prove.

Cardonio says that he must look after his flock:¹

Tambien porque me es, Fileno, forzado
que vaya esta noche dormir al lugar,
y con mi ida poner el ganado
do lobo ninguno lo pueda tocar.

Tirsi takes leave of Damone:²

Rimanti in pace, ch'io me ne vo via:
tornar vo' al gregge, che il lupo rapace
facilmente assalire ora il potria.

Fileno bids farewell to his flock and stabs himself:³

Solo el partir de tu compagnia
me causa pasion, ohi pobre ganado!
mas place a Cupido que quedes sin guia,
al cual obedezco a mal de mi grado.
Se que los lobos hambrientos contino,
por ver si me parto, estan asechando.
Ay triste de mi, que fuera de tino
la lumbre a mis ojos se va ya quitando!

Damone also foresees the destruction of his sheep:⁴

Povero armento mio! Chi fia tua guida
da poi che il tuo pastor da te si parte?
Quando piu troverai scorta si fida?
Gia parmi di veder tutto straziarte
da'lupi ch'ognor stanno intenti e pronti
aspettando ch'io vada in altra parte.
Mai piu non ti vedro per questi monti
pascer le tener'erbe, e al tempo estivo
scacciar la sete a questi freschi fonti.
Tu puoi viver sicur mentre son vivo;
ma il mi convien morire; ond'io ti lasso:
Amor vuol che di me tu resti privo.

¹ *Teatro completo*, p. 212.

² Tebaldeo, ll. 46-48.

³ *Teatro completo*, p. 219.

⁴ Tebaldeo, ll. 176-187.

In the Spanish play, Cardonio returns anxiously to the spot where he has left his friend:¹

Oh Dios, cuanto se es Fileno mudado
de aquello que era desde agora dos años!
Y como le ha Cefira trocado
con sus palabrillas, burletas y engaños!
Quiero tornar, por oírle siquiera
quejar de Cupido y su poca fe,
y porque cierto jamas no debiera
dejarle del son que yo le dejé.

In like manner, Tirsi returns to Damone:²

Quanto è Damon mutato da quel ch'era!
Gia viver senza me non sapea un giorno;
or fugge com'io füssi un'aspra fiera:
ma fermo io nel pensier di far ritorno
la dove il lasciai pien d'afflitione,
e star nascosto a quel boschetto intorno,
tanto che intender possa la cagione
de l'interna sua pena aspra ed acerba,
per cui fugge la luce e le persone.

Cardonio sees Fileno lying motionless on the ground:³

Veslo do yace en la yerba tendido.
Ay, que he tenido contino temor
que solo algun lobo no lo haya hallado!
mas quiza durmiendo su pena e dolor
mitiga, dejandole el lloro cansado.

In like manner, Tirsi sees the prostrate body of Damone:⁴

Ecco che giace la disteso in erba:
veggo disperso andar tutto il suo armento:
forse il dolor dormendo disacerba.

¹ *Teatro completo*, pp. 220-21.

² Tebaldeo, ll. 194-202.

³ *Teatro completo*, p. 221.

⁴ Tebaldeo, ll. 203-205.

Cardonio steals up to him noiselessly and sees blood on Fileno's chest and the dagger by which he has met his death:¹

Mejor es salir de tanto dudar,
y ver bien si duerme o qu'es lo que hace.
La boca cerrada por no resollar . . .
Y es sangre aquella que en su pecho yace?
Sin duda el es muerto de algun animal
del modo que siempre yo, triste, he temido.
Oh Venere sancta! Y aquel es puñal
que tiene en el lado siniestro metido!
Oh triste Fileno, y cual fantasia
te ha conducido a tan aspera suerte!

This is almost a literal translation of the Italian text:²

Andero a lui col pie tacito e lento:
tener bisogna ben chiuse le labbia.
Oime! parmi il terren sanguinolento.
Temo che morto qualche animal l'abbia,
trovandol qui dormir soletto e stanco,
che molti vengon per gran fame in rabbia.
Che ferro è quel ch'ha nel sinistro fianco?
Ahi misero Damon, come t'hai morto?
Come in brev' ora sei venuto manco?

Cardonio reproaches his friend for having left him without even an embrace:³

Pues dime, enemigo, por que me negaste
el ultimo abrazo, siendote hermano?
o cual es la causa que no me tocaste,
como era razon, al menos la mano?

Compare with this Tebaldeo's eclogue:⁴

Deh, perche almen la mano non mi toccasti,
dicendo: resta in pace, Tirsi fido?
Perche l'ultimo bacio a me negasti?

¹ *Teatro completo*, pp. 221-22.

² Tebaldeo, ll. 206-214.

³ *Teatro completo*, p. 222.

⁴ ll. 224-26.

Cardonio declares that Fileno's reputation in the world will suffer because of his suicide:¹

y peor es que, siendo por sabio estimado,
luego que sea tu muerte sabida,
de todos seras por loco juzgado;
porque el fin es aquel que honra la vida.

Tirsi expresses the same regrets concerning Damone:²

Che si dira, quando fia sparso il grido:
Damon s'è ucciso con sua propria mano,
come gia per Enea l'infesta Dido?

Tu sarai da ciascun chiamato insano
ch'eri fra noi tenuto il piu prudente:
il fine è quel che loda il corso humano.

The epitaphs placed upon the tomb of Fileno and of Damone also show a marked similarity.

The indebtedness of Spanish to Italian literature of the sixteenth century has been frequently pointed out in fiction, lyric and epic poetry, comedy and tragedy, and it is interesting to note that one of the earliest Spanish pastoral plays is borrowed from an Italian eclogue. This fact becomes even more significant when we remember that the *Egloga de tres pastores* is the first tragedy in the Spanish drama and contains incidents which were frequently repeated in subsequent plays.³

¹ *Teatro completo*, p. 222.

² Tebaldeo, ll. 227-32.

The fact that Enzina's play is derived from an Italian eclogue serves to confirm the theory that the *egloghe rappresentative* were the ultimate source of the Italian pastoral drama, which was first clearly stated by Vittorio Rossi in his excellent book, *Battista Guarini ed il Pastor Fido*, Torino, 1886. Carducci, in his essay, *Su l'Aminta di T. Tasso*, Firenze, 1896, refused to accept these conclusions and tried to prove that the Arcadian drama was a creation of the literary and courtly circles of Ferrara and that the precursors of the *Aminta* are to be sought in Beccari's *Sacrifizio* and Giraldi Cintio's *Egle*. Rossi discussed the theory of Carducci in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. xxxi, 1898, p. 108, and reaffirmed his belief that the eclogue was capable of developing into real drama. Enzina's use of Tebaldeo's eclogue shows how simple the transformation might be.

The *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* was not published in any edition of Enzina's *Cancionero*, and the unique copy from which it was reprinted by Barbieri bears no date. Lucas Fernández refers to it as follows in speaking of the ills caused by Love in his *Farsa o cuasi comedia del soldado*:¹

Y aun Cristino en religion
se metio y dejo su hato.
Despues Amor de rebato
le saco de su intencion;
enviole mensajera
muy artera
que lo tentase de amor,
Ninfa llamada Febera,
muy artera,
y volviole a ser pastor.

Since this play of Fernández was published in 1514, Enzina's egloga must have been printed before that date, perhaps in 1509 as Barbieri conjectured.² I believe that it was composed during Enzina's first visit to Italy and that it was performed at Rome. In addition to the Italian elements in the play which would support this view, it bespeaks a court production of the kind common in Rome at the time but unknown in Spain.³

The shepherd Cristino tells his friend Justino that he is

¹ *Farsas y eglogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano*, Madrid, 1867, p. 94.

² For a discussion of the date, see Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, pp. 44-45 and 61. Dr. Kohler has proved conclusively, in my opinion, that the date 1497 ascribed to the play by Cotarelo is incorrect.

³ We can not accept without further evidence the statement of Dr. Kohler, *Representaciones de Juan del Enzina*, p. 15, based upon the *Historia de Málaga* of Francisco Guillén Robles and also mentioned in Narciso Diaz de Escovar's *El Teatro en Málaga*, Málaga, 1896, that public performances in Málaga date from 1490, that after 1513 the Real Hospital de la Caridad became the beneficiary of these representations, and that Enzina's plays could have been produced publicly during his residence in that city. See the excellent work of Henri Mérimée, *Spectacles et Comédiens à Valencia*, 1913, p. 23.

weary of life with its bitter disappointments and wishes to do penance in a hermitage for his faults. Had he suffered as many pains for God as he had experienced in love affairs and with his patrons, he would be canonized. Justino is sceptical as to the vocation of his friend and reminds him of the delights of pastoral life which he must abandon. Cristino remains unshaken in his purpose and departs to don the garb of a hermit. Cupid then appears before Justino, furious that Cristino has renounced worldly pleasures. He summons the nymph Febea and bids her dissuade the shepherd from his intention, promising to make him suffer for his temerity. The nymph forthwith presents herself at the hermitage and argues that one may serve God as well in the world as in religion:

Vivir bien es gran consuelo,
con buen celo,
como santos gloriosos:
no todos los religiosos
son los que suben al cielo;
tambien serviras a Dios
entre nos;
que mas de buenos pastores
hay que frailes y mejores,
y en tu tierra mas de dos.

This cunning argument, however, has little effect upon the pious hermit. Febea draws near and Cristino shrinks from her touch, not from displeasure but through fear of gossip. The nymph offers her love and Cristino tries to resist the temptation, but we feel that the Church is in grave danger of losing one of her own. He complains bitterly against Cupid who has pursued him to his place of refuge and the god appears, promising to accord any favour. The shepherd offers to discard his hermit's garb, provided that he be granted the love of Febea. Cupid agrees to the condition, but warns him to never again think of the religious life. When Cristino meets Justino, he tells him of the temptations to which he has been subjected, and his companion comforts him with the re-

mark that after all, only centenarians are suited for the life of a hermit:

Las vidas de las hermitas
son benditas,
mas nunca son hermitaños
sino viejos de cien años.

Cristino agrees, although somewhat mortified by the thought of the scandal likely to arise from his apostasy, but even this is forgotten in his delight at escaping from a life which was tiresome and ill-suited to him.

It has been suggested that the play is to a certain degree autobiographical, a theory which seems to have good grounds of probability. The anti-clerical tone, the revolt against ascetic doctrines, the statement that the religious life is only adapted to old men, and that there are more good shepherds (the author really means courtiers) in the world than friars, may be ascribed to Enzina's contact with the free ideas current in Italy at the time. The influence of Rodrigo Cota's *Dialogo entre el Amor y un viejo* is clear, but the author made certain innovations not found in earlier Spanish literature. The appearance of the nymph in the play is due to Enzina's acquaintance with Italian literature, for no figure is more frequently found in the Italian eclogues of the period. The poet's lack of familiarity with this type is shown by the fact that she appears at Cupid's summons as a supernatural creature, yet on the earnest plea of Cristino, he is promised her love by Cupid. The *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* may be regarded as a play using Spanish material, conceived in the Italian spirit.

Enzina's last dramatic composition, the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, was not published in any edition of his *Cancionero* and the unique original copy has neither date nor place of publication. Moratín mentions a Roman edition of 1514, but nothing further is known of its existence. It is almost certain, however, that this is the play referred to in a letter of Stazio Gadio to the Marquis Francesco of Mantua, dated January 11,

1513: "Zovedi a VI, festa de li Tre Re, il sr. Federico . . . si redusse alle xxijj hore a casa dil Cardinale Arborensis, invitato da lui ad una commedia. . . . Cenato adunche si redussero tutti in una sala, ove si havea ad representare la commedia. Il pto. Rmo. era sedendo tra il sr. Federico, posto a man dritta, et lo Ambassator di Spagna a man sinistra et molti vescovi poi a torno, tutti spagnoli; quella sala era tutta piena di gente, e piu de le due parte erano spagnoli, e piu putane spagnole vi erano che homini italiani, perche la commedia fu recitata in lingua castiliana, composta da Zoanne del Enzina, qual intervenne lui ad dir le forze et accidenti di amore, et per quanto dicono spagnoli non fu molto bella et pocho delettò al Sr. Federico."¹ This document shows that Enzina was not only the author of the play presented on Twelfth Night, 1513, but that he also took part in the performance. Cardinal Arborea, at whose house the play was performed, was the Valencian Jaime Serra, elevated to the College of Cardinals by Alexander VI in 1510.²

It is true that Julius II preferred scenes of battle to the theatre, but he was a patron of plays and we have many documents which attest the performance of comedies and eclogues

¹ First published by A. Luzio in an article entitled *Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II*, *Archivio della R. Società romana di storia patria*, Vol. IX, 1881, p. 550. It was mentioned by Arturo Graf, *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Torino, 1888, pp. 264-65, who incorrectly ascribes the performance to August, 1513. Señor Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. VII, p. xiii, quoting from Graf, declares that Enzina could not have witnessed the performance of the play since documents show that he had returned to Spain by August 13, 1513. It was first identified as the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* by A. L. Stiefel, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XVII, 1893, p. 586.

² Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. III, Halle, 1903, p. 100. In the Conclave of March 10, 1513, two months after the performance of Enzina's play, Serra received the highest number of votes to succeed Julius II, although apparently no one thought seriously of his election to the Papacy.

at Rome during the years that he occupied the Papacy.¹ The wealthy banker Agostino Chigi, "the Rothschild of his time", encouraged Siennese companies to perform popular comedies at Rome² and plays of this sort became one of the chief diversions of the *entourage* of Julius II and of his successor Leo X. The presence of women of the *demi-monde* with a goodly array of Cardinals at the performance of Enzina's play will surprise no one who has read of the private life at Rome in the early years of the sixteenth century.³

The *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* opens with a prologue recited by Gil Cestero, who addressing the *compañía nobre* and especially *nuestro amo* (probably Cardinal Arborea), gives an outline of the plot and asks for attention. The play may be divided into ten scenes or two acts, since a *villancico* is sung after the fourth scene.

Placida mourns because she believes herself abandoned by her lover Vitoriano. His absence makes her long for death and at the same time she curses him for his treachery. In her anguish, she calls for her recreant lover and determines to flee to the mountains and dark groves where the wild beasts, the springs and rivers will have pity upon her grief. After she withdraws, Vitoriano appears, complaining that he has been unable to escape from the bonds which unite him to his mistress since absence has only increased his love for her and she is ever present in his thoughts. He seeks the counsel of his

¹ See D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Vol. II, Torino, 1891, pp. 75-83.

² We know, for example, of a dinner given in July, 1512, by Chigi to Federico Gonzaga. "e nanti si cominciasse a cenare, se fece fare una Representazione pastoral, recitata da alcuni putti e putte senesi, che molto bene dissero, e fu bella materia." D'Ancona, *Origini*, Vol. II, p. 81. On the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena and its predecessors, see C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI*, 2 vols, Firenze, 1882.

³ See in this connection the interesting essay of Arturo Graf, *Una Cortigiana fra mille*, contained in his volume entitled *Attraverso il Cinquecento*, Torino, 1888.

friend Suplicio who urges him to forget the old love by taking up a new one¹ and suggests that he court the fair Flugencia. Vitoriano agrees to this with some reluctance and Suplicio promises to arrange the meeting.

In the next scene, Vitoriano greets Flugencia with flattering words which she at first pretends to doubt. He presses his suit, praising her beauty and telling of the sorrow which her indifference causes him. She makes sport of his protestations, but coquettishly gives him reason to hope that his desires will be gratified. The scene is skilfully represented and shows Enzina at his best as a dramatist.

The next scene, derived from the *Celestina*, has almost no connection with the rest of the play and was well suited to the *puttane spagnuole* who witnessed the performance at Rome. Flugencia meets and exchanges obscene jokes with the *comadre* Eritea, an infamous hag, expert in magic love potions, abortions and even more disgraceful practices. Vitoriano, however, tells Suplicio that Flugencia can never make him forget his love for Placida and that he would rather die a thousand times than break his faith with her. Vitoriano departs to seek Placida, leaving Suplicio alone who bitterly reproaches Cupid for having wrought this transformation in his friend. Vitoriano returns in great anguish, for a shepherd has told him that he has seen Placida seeking some lonely place and lamenting the infidelity of her lover. He determines to die since he has treated her so cruelly. While Suplicio is questioning the shepherd Pascual, Vitoriano slips away.

The next scene, which serves as an interlude, consists of a dialogue between Gil and Pascual which by its realistic tone resembles the rude representation of shepherds found in Enzina's Christmas plays. The burlesque purpose of the scene is evident. They talk about the strange conduct of Placida and Vitoriano and when Gil remarks that he pities them for their misfortunes, Pascual replies:

¹ This passage, *Teatro completo*, p. 273, is derived from Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, Book II, pp. 452-460.

Dalos a rabia y a roña
los de villa y palaciegos!
El amor los endimoña.
Peores son que ponzoña,
todos son unos rapiegos
lladrobaces
que nunca querrian paces.
Dios les dé malos sosiegos.

They sit down to play dice and Gil forfeits his basket, but the game is interrupted by the strains of a reed-pipe and they retire, singing a *villancico*.

Placida appears, lamenting her cruel fate and desirous only of death since she has lost the love of Vitoriano. With bitter reproaches which recall those of the abandoned Dido,¹ she plunges into her heart the dagger which had been left behind by Vitoriano, calling upon Cupid to receive her sacrifice. Vitoriano enters, mourning the absence of his sweetheart, but Echo alone replies to his laments.² He comes upon the corpse of Placida, becomes deathly pale and is overwhelmed with grief when he learns that she had committed suicide with his own dagger. He desires to take his life but his friend Suplicio restrains him, asking whether he wishes to lose his soul as well as his body, and only consents to leave Vitoriano alone on the promise that he will do himself no injury.

This scene is followed by the long and tiresome *Vigilia de la enamorada muerta*, a sacrilegious parody of the prayers for the dead in which the god Cupid is invoked. The fact that parodies of this kind were composed by a number of Enzina's contemporaries does not mitigate the offense but serves to explain it. Probably the most famous example of this type is found in the *Liciones de Job* of Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz and a similar irreligious spirit animates the *Siete gozos de amor* of

¹ See R. Schevill, *Studies in Cervantes, Persiles y Sigismunda*, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. XIII, 1908, p. 486.

² This metrical exercise is also found in the *Cancionero general*, Vol. II, p. 21.

Rodriguez del Padrón, the *Diez mandamientos de amor*, *el Pater Noster de las mujeres* and certain *coplas* of Mossen Gaçull, *aplicando el salmo De Profundis a sus pasiones de amor*, all of which are contained in the 1511 edition of the *Cancionero general*.¹

This is followed by a sort of interlude between Gil, Pascual and Suplicio. The rude shepherds distrust Suplicio at first and show little interest when they learn that Placida has put an end to her life. They refuse to aid in her burial until they have had a nap. He leaves in despair and the scene changes to Vitoriano who commends his soul to Venus as he is about to end his life. Venus, however, appears and stays his hand, assuring him that Placida is not really dead and that if he will have faith, she will restore her to life. She summons Mercury, bidding him to bring the soul of Placida back to her body; Mercury recites an incantation and vanishes. Vitoriano, scarcely able to believe the evidence of his own eyes, sees the maiden gradually recover her faculties. She tells him that she has returned from the other world where she had learned that she would soon be joined by him. He shows her the dagger as proof that he had determined to die and Placida offers up thanksgiving to God and also to Venus, Mercury and Cupid, for their kind offices.

In the following scene, Suplicio returns with Gil and Pascual to inter the body of Placida, planning a suitable place for the burial, while Suplicio is already composing the epitaph when they see a man and woman in the distance who Gil thinks must be Juan and Benita. To their great surprise, they recognize Vitoriano, and Placida, apparently none the worse for her experience. Vitoriano can offer no explanation for the mir-

¹ Mario Equicola in his *Libro di natura d'amore*, Venezia, 1531, fol. 101v., says: "Non laudo tra Spagnoli né in altra natione quelli che le cose sacre et divine alli amori appropriano." These parodies are akin to the Old French *Epîtres farcies*. See also E. Faral, *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1910, p. 32 and D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Vol. I, 1891, p. 67.

acle but tells how his ardent desire has been fulfilled by Venus and Mercury. The play ends with a dance.¹

The reader need not be surprised at the unexpected *dénouement*, for the pastoral drama frequently defied all laws of probability. It will be remembered that in Tasso's *Aminta*, Silvia has a remarkable escape from a wolf and Aminta himself, when attempting suicide by leaping from a high cliff, gets off with a few scratches. Many shepherds and shepherdesses in the Italian eclogues were eager for death, but someone usually intervened to prevent what must otherwise have resulted in a high mortality rate. Sometimes a divinity intervened, as in Enzina's play; in other cases as in the seventh prose portion of Sannazaro's *Arcadia* and in the *Egloga pastorale di Flavia*, it was the lady herself who saved her lover from death. There is no doubt that Enzina borrowed the chief incidents of this play from Italian pastoral and mythological compositions, although the precise source has not been determined, and introduced into the material a certain human interest and air of realism by the use of elements borrowed from the *Celestina* and from his own early pastorals. The burlesque purpose of certain scenes is especially noteworthy, which is prominent in some of the Italian plays of the period and which later was to develop into the *commedia rusticale*. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the author derived these comic scenes from Italian sources. Gil, Suplicio and Pascual differ but little from the shepherds who appear in his own Christmas plays and eclogues "en requesta de amores".

Although the crude representation of shepherds in the Christmas and Carnival plays belongs to the history of the farce, the *requesta de amores* theme and the incidents found in the *Egloga de tres pastores* and *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, borrowed from Italian models, formed the basis for the subsequent development of the pastoral drama.

¹ The play is followed by various *canciones*, etc., which are attributed to Cartagena, Núñez, Manrique and other poets in the *Cancionero general*, and also by a parody on the liturgy entitled *Nunc Dimitis* by Fernán López de Yanguas.

We also find in Enzina's plays the beginning of the Spanish lyrical drama, as far as our texts are concerned. All of his plays, with the exception of the introduction to the first Christmas eclogue, the *Egloga de las grandes lluvias* and the *Egloga de tres pastores*,¹ conclude with a *villancico* or *cantorcillo*, which is usually accompanied by a dance. The second *Egloga en requesta de amores* and the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* are divided into two parts by a song. In the majority of cases the text is given, and for three of them, the musical notation has been preserved.² Most of them were sung by four persons, which doubtless affected the number of characters in the early plays, and it is interesting to see how a fourth shepherd was introduced at the very end of the *Aucto del Repelon* in order that they might be able to "cantar dos por dos". This practice of combining recitation with song was continued by Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente and other poets, and leads directly to the *sarzuela* in the time of Calderón de la Barca.³

¹ The old suelta edition of this play ends with the words,

Queremos rogaros querarís entonar
un triste requiem que diga de amores.

² See Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*, Madrid, Nos. 353, 354 and 357.

³ See Felipe Pedrell, *Teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX*, Vols. III-V, La Coruña, 1897-98. Cotarelo y Mori mentions a number of examples of music and songs in the early plays in the introduction to his *Colección de entremeses, loas, bailes, jácaras y mojigangas desde fines del siglo XVI a mediados del XVIII*, Tomo I, Vol. I, Madrid, 1911, pp. cclxxvi-cclxxix.

CHAPTER III.

PASTORAL PLAYS AFTER ENZINA.

AN immediate successor and imitator of Enzina is Lucas Fernández of whom we know little beyond what may be learned from a study of his works. The date of his birth and death alike remain unknown, but it is certain that he was born and lived at Salamanca and that he was not only a contemporary of Enzina, but was acquainted with his plays and imitated them.¹ That he was a cleric is proven by his knowledge of classical mythology and the liturgical character of his religious plays. Like Enzina, he was skilled in music and this constitutes an important part in his plays. His name is not mentioned by Agustín de Rojas nor by any other writer of the sixteenth or seventeenth century who discussed the origins of the drama in Spain and his *Farsas y eglogas al modo y estilo pastoril y castellano*, published at Salamanca in 1514, were not republished until 1867.²

The collection consists of six plays, three religious and three secular, and a non-dramatic *Dialogo para cantar*. The *Auto de la Pasión* is a liturgical drama without popular elements. The two Christmas plays, *Egloga o farsa del nacimiento de nuestro redemptor Jesu Cristo* and *Auto o farsa del nacimiento de nuestro señor Jesu Cristo* show no advance over the eclogues of Enzina dealing with the same subject. Although their didactic purpose is evident, the comic element intro-

¹ In his *Farsa o cuasi comedia (del soldado)*, he refers to Enzina's two eclogues *en requesta de unos amores*, *Representacion del Amor*, *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* and *Egloga de tres pastores*. See page 54 of this study.

² Edited with an introduction by Cañete, Madrid, 1887.

duced in the crude representation of the daily life of the shepherds shows to what an extent the spirit of the popular farce had obtruded itself into the religious plays.

The three secular plays of Lucas Fernández treat themes which we have already found in the early eclogues of Enzina and introduce but few new elements. The *comedia* (*de Bras-Gil, Beringuella y Miguel-Turra*) aims to give a rustic setting to the *requesta de amores* theme and the characters are real shepherds and shepherdesses, not knights and ladies masquerading. Bras-Gil, an unpolished Fileno, has been wounded by Cupid's arrow, and has sought the shepherdess Beringuella so far over hill and valley without success that he can neither eat nor sleep. He sees in the distance the object of his search and at first can scarcely believe his eyes. He accosts her with flattering words, humbly begging her favour, but she brusquely bids him to leave her in peace. He reproaches her for her cruel treatment and shows her a carved spoon which he has brought as a present. When he says there is no remedy for his ill, she suggests a little salve or syrup. She finally yields to his importunities, however, he then offers her a ring and they start off together to the sheep-fold. Their dream of happiness is rudely shattered by the arrival of Juan-Benito, Beringuella's grandfather. The lovers try in vain to hide and Juan-Benito accuses Bras of having attempted to seduce the maiden. The shepherd indignantly denies the charge, swearing by everything holy that he has done the girl no harm. The grandfather and suitor are on the point of coming to blows when another shepherd, Miguel-Turra, intervenes in the dispute. He suggests that the quarrel may be settled by the marriage of Beringuella and Bras, and the latter recites at length his lineage to the third and fourth generation when the grandfather declares that the match is not an equal one. Finally he gives his consent to the marriage and recounts at length the objects which he will give as Beringuella's dowry and the bridegroom promises an equally long list of presents. Miguel-Turra summons his wife for the nuptials and the play ends with a song and dance in which all the characters join.

The play, composed certainly before 1509 since the *Farsa o cuasi comedia del soldado* of that year contains a reference to it¹ and probably written several years earlier, shows the influence of Enzina's *requesta de amores* eclogues both in the versification (double *redondillas*) and in the subject-matter. It is probable that it was performed to celebrate the wedding of some nobleman.² We must remember that an attempt to portray in rustic fashion the love affairs of shepherds would only prove interesting to people of quality. The play is also noteworthy as showing how easily the conventional pastoral could be transformed into a farce.

The influence of Enzina's first *Egloga en requesta de unos amores* is still more clearly seen in Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia*. The theme is the same, a *contrasto* between a knight and shepherd for the love of a maiden, except that in Fernández's play, the girl is a *doncella* (lady), not a shepherdess. This is the first Spanish play which we possess, treating an incident frequently found in later pastorals, the burlesque courtship of a lady by a rude shepherd. There is no internal evidence which would permit us to determine its date of composition, except that it must have been written after 1496, the date of publication of the first edition of Enzina's *Cancionero*.

A maiden, whose name is not given, complains bitterly of Fortune who has separated her from her lover and inquires of a shepherd whom she meets whether he has seen a knight in the neighborhood, and the shepherd replies:

Y que cosa es caballero?
Es algun huerte alemaña,
o lobo rabaz muy fiero.
o vignadero,
o es quizas musaraña?

¹ Kohler, *ibid.*, p. 55.

² There is evidence that weddings were often celebrated by the performance of plays. Enzina's *Representación del Amor* was written in honour of the marriage of Prince John of Castile, the *Egloga ynterlocutoria* of Diego de Avila is a wedding play and Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa del Matrimonio* (1530), bears the rubric, "para representar en bodas."

She explains that *caballero* means *hombre del palacio* but the shepherd, undaunted, urges her to accept his love instead, asserting his own superiority. In her despair, she declares that she will put an end to her life, like Dido, and the shepherd, declaring that Dido must have been a fool, advises her to offer a reward for her lost love, for he had once recovered a she-ass by such means. When he presses his suit in his rude way, the lady expresses surprise that even shepherds feel the wounds of Cupid. He replies that Love deprives them of their thoughts and senses and narrates in rustic fashion the power of Love over all creatures. He suggests that she may find a refuge in his cabin and promises her many gifts, but she declares that she prefers the grave. At this point the knight appears who puts the shepherd to flight after a brief dispute and the play ends with a *villancico*. The farcical element was designed to amuse an aristocratic audience and the triumph of the courtier over the rustic is merely a repetition of the same incident in Enzina's first *Egloga en requesta de unos amores*. In a number of later plays, such as the *Egloga* of Juan de París, *Farsa Ardamisa* of Diego de Negueruela and *Comedia Florisca* of Francisco de Avendaño, we find a lady in search of her lover who is exposed to insulting proposals from boorish shepherds.

The love of a rude shepherd is again the theme of Lucas Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia del soldado*. Prabos laments the ills which he has received at the hands of Love; his flock strays at will, he has forgotten how to play his pipe and the pleasures of life have turned into bitter sorrow. A soldier draws near who asks the cause of his grief and Prabos finally confesses that he suffers the pains of Love. He knows that its consequences are grave, for Fileno had died for love of Zefira, Pelayo had been wounded by Cupid, Bras-Gil had suffered because of Beringuella and Mingo for Pascuala, and Cristino had left the world and donned a hermit's garb because of love-sickness.¹ The soldier sympathetically offers

¹ The author refers to plays familiar to an audience at Salamanca,

good advice and the shepherd Pascual appears. The latter makes sport of his companion's trouble and suggests in turn a remedy:

Con madresilva y gamones
 sanaras, y malvarisco,
 y con rabano gagisco,
 encienso macho y bayones.
 Flor de sago y doradilla
 y manzanilla
 es muy chapada hesica,
 que ño hay vesibro de villa
 sin tranquilla;
 que ansi sané mi borrica,
 que andaba bien de tu suerte
 medio mustia y mangonera.
 Si aquesto yo no le hiciera,
 ya debrocaba de muerte.¹

The soldier resents, however, the mocking tone of Pascual who then asks rudely what is meant by Love. The soldier shows himself well acquainted with the courtly ideas of the time in the subtle definition which he offers but finally loses his patience at the impertinence of Pascual and a sort of *contrasto* ensues in which the shepherd abuses the military life and the soldier, who here shows some of the characteristics of the braggart captain, attacks pastoral life. Prabos finally succeeds in making peace and Pascual goes in search of Antona, Prabos's sweetheart, who after some hesitation accepts the hand of the unhappy lover. The play ends with a *villancico* in praise of Love.

It must have been composed after the appearance of Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores* in 1509 since reference is made to the unhappy fate of Fileno. The mention of the same author's *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* does not aid us in deter-

Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores* and *Representacion del Amor*, his own *Comedia (de Bras-Gil, Beringuella y Miguel-Turra)* and Enzina's *Egloga de Cristino y Febea*.

¹ *Farsas y églogas*, p. 101.

mining the date of composition as the year in which that play was first published in by no means certain.

The *Egloga de Torino*, contained in the anonymous *Question de Amor*, first published at Valencia in 1513,¹ forms a connecting link between the Spanish and Italian pastoral drama at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Signor Croce has shown that the *Question de amor* is a *roman à clef*, composed at Naples between the years 1508 and 1512, portraying courtly society at that city, and it is probable that the *Egloga de Torino* was actually represented before Bona Sforza and the other characters who appear in the novel.

Torino mourns because his love for Benita (Bona Sforza) is not returned. He is unable to forget her in spite of her cruelty and blames Cupid as the cause of his suffering. After bidding a tender farewell to his flock, his rebec and staff, he attempts to take his life, since only in death can he find relief:

Mejor te seria del todo morir
que verte penando muriendo seruir
do solo es tu pago tenerte aborrido.²

The shepherd Guillardo hears his groans and believing that he has been wounded by some animal, tries to restore him to consciousness but without success. In his fear he summons another shepherd, named Quiral, who arouses the unhappy lover and asks the reason of his laments. Torino replies:³

Siento, pastores, el mal de le muerte
y essa no llega por darme mas pena;
passion me combate, razon me condena,
dolor me fatiga, tristeça me aquexa,
querria sanar, querer no me dexa,
los males son mios, la causa es agena.

¹ For the *Question de amor*, see Benedetto Croce, *Di un antico romanzo spagnuolo*, published in the *Archivio per le provincie napolitane*, Vol. XIX, Naples, 1894, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1905, pp. ccxxvii-ccxxxi, who also published the *Question de amor*, including the *Egloga de Torino*, in Vol. II of his *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907.

² *Orígenes de la novela*, Vol. II, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Quiral persists in learning the cause of his pain and asks :

Que mal puede ser tan crudo que sientas
lo mucho que duele y callas tu fatiga?
Es mal dellonbrigo o dolor de barriga
que dices el daño y la causa no cuentas?

Torino replies that his suffering comes from *poca esperanza* which is far more severe than anything he has mentioned. His friend finally understands that Torino is suffering from *mal d'amorio* and curses the shepherdess who has caused such pain, but the lover refuses to hear a single disparaging remark about his lady. Quiral says that he should deem himself fortunate if he loves Benita, who is endowed with all virtues :

siendo ella tal, dime porque mueres,
siendo tu llaga en sí gloriosa?

Torino answers that he will be satisfied if only Benita knows the suffering she has caused.

Guillardo is quite unable to understand the subtle delicacy of the lover and asks concerning the nature of this disease which causes such anguish :

Es biuora o qué o es alacran,
o es escorpion, o es basilisco,
que yo oy dezir aqui en nuestro aprisco
que a todos los mata los qu'a velle van?

Quiral, who is more sophisticated, gives a casuistical definition of Love which the boorish Guillardo is totally incapable of comprehending.

Benita approaches with a lady-in-waiting and asks the subject of their discussion. Torino tells her of the grief which her coldness causes him and humbly begs some mark of favour. She becomes angry at his persistency and bids him cease his importunities, but the lover declares that he is powerless to banish her from his thoughts and describes his undying affection in this rhetorical fashion :

Assi que yo muero en mi sepultura,
de aqui a mill años que vengan a ver,
de tus efigias se podran coger
tantas sin cuento que no haura mesura,
y en todos mis huesos aura una escritura
que ya dend'agora la tengo yo escrita
e disen las letras: esta es Benita,
la que desde entonces su nombre nos dura.

Benita withdraws in anger and Torino declares that even though she leave him, his spirit is ever present with her. Guillardo puzzles over the possibility of being in two places at the same time and Quiral urges Torino to be of good cheer since the glory acquired is in proportion to the suffering endured when love is set upon so worthy an object. The eclogue closes with a *villancico* sung by the three shepherds.

Although this play was composed and probably performed in Italy, it is not likely to have been derived from an Italian original. It reproduces situations found in many Italian eclogues of the time such as the unhappiness of a shepherd caused by unrequited love and the attempt at suicide, but these are already present in the *Egloga de tres pastores* of Enzina and the opening scenes in these two plays offer many similarities. The use of *coplas de arte mayor* in the *Egloga de Torino* is probably derived from the above-mentioned eclogue of Enzina. It is well known that the burlesque pastoral element, which appeared even in Poliziano's *Orfeo*, became popular in Italy in the early years of the sixteenth century with the predecessors of the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena, but we need not assign this element in the *Egloga de Torino* to Italian imitation since burlesque scenes are found in the *Egloga de tres pastores* of Enzina and in the *Comedia* and *Farsa o cuasi comedia del soldado* of Fernández which the author of the *Egloga de Torino* may have known although they were not printed until 1514. The only feature of the *Egloga de Torino* which may with certainty be ascribed to Italian imitation is the introduction of real persons as characters, a practice commonly found in the early Italian eclogues.

An anonymous *Egloga pastoril*, preserved at the Royal Library of Munich and recently reprinted,¹ shows that at an early date the plays of Enzina were known and imitated at Valencia. The characters are five shepherds, Juan Melenudo, Peranton, Gil Calvo, Climentejo, Mossen Bartholome and Llorente, a sorcerer. The scene is laid at Valencia and the early part abounds in references to contemporary events. The shepherds complain of the pestilence which has afflicted the city and describe the terror at the approach of a Moorish fleet which has caused rich and poor alike to abandon their homes. The sadness and solitude of the present which contrasts so vividly with the happiness of the past inspired the author to write the best verses of the play, which recall the famous coplas of Jorge Manrique:²

O solitaria que queda,
 a segun era,
 la tan poblada ciudad!
 Dolor era de mirar
 de quan poca gente queda!
 Que es de tantos galanes
 principales,
 que tenias en ti, Valencia?
 Como te han hecho ausencia,
 touiendo tan pocos males?
 Qu'es de tanta gente honrrada
 atauizada,
 y las damas festejadas,
 tan vestidas y arreadas
 que no te ha quedado nada?

Peranton declares that all their troubles were the consequence of their own sins and that conditions would have been

¹ By Dr. Eugen Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, and by Urban Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1913. I have used the text of the latter edition.

² Henri Mérimée, *L'Art Dramatique à Valencia, depuis les origines jusqu'au commencement du xviiie siècle*, Bibl. Méridionale, 2^e Série, Tome XVI, Toulouse, 1913, p. 106.

still worse, had it not been for the intervention of the Virgin and of San Vicente Ferrer, the Patron Saint of the city. The shepherds then begin to discuss their personal affairs and Peranton and Juan relate the cruel treatment that they have received from the shepherdesses on whom their hearts were fixed. Still greater is the anguish of Climentejo when he learns that his betrothed, Jimena de Hontorio, has married another shepherd and in his grief he determines to put an end to his life:

Dexame, quiero morir,
por salir
de tan asperas fatigas!
no me den gachas ni migas,
que no lo puedo sufrir.¹

Juan asks him concerning his ill:

Qu'es esto? Tienes calambre,
o qual landre
de las que corrian ogaño,
que muestras tan gran desmayo,
que as cuidado espantarme?

He begs his friend not to die until he has confessed his sins and then suggests that the *encantador* Llorente be called in to heal Climentejo of his wound. The hapless lover finally consents and Llorente appears who boasts of his powers in necromancy and pronounces a weird incantation² over the disappointed suitor. The *villancico* which ends the play announces the cure of the lover.

The play has neither unity nor well developed plot. The references to the epidemic and threatened visit of a Moorish fleet point to the end of 1519 or early part of the year 1520 as the date of composition.³ It was probably performed to

¹ ll. 691-95.

² His repertory in magic is as extensive as that of the *clerigo negromante* in Gil Vicente's *Exhortação da guerra* (1513).

³ Kohler, *ibid.*, p. 175.

celebrate the recent escape of the city of Valencia from the dangers that threatened it and the pastoral element was introduced in imitation of Enzina's eclogues. The moralizing element which is so evident in the early part probably indicates that the author was a cleric. It is particularly significant that this play, performed at Valencia, should have been composed in the so-called *sayagués* dialect, employed by Enzina in most of his plays. The suicide theme appears to be a parody of the unhappy experiences of Fileno and Vitoriano in Enzina's last play. It is interesting to note that the earliest extant example of the Valencian drama borrowed its form, character, language and versification from Castile.

The *Egloga nueva*, attributed to Diego Durán, and preserved in an undated edition at the Royal Library of Munich,¹ presents the traditional *requesta de amor* theme with certain variations. A shepherdess appears, complaining that her flock is lost, and is accosted by a hermit who says that for love of her he detests the monastery, and invites her to accompany him to his hermitage. She can scarcely find words to express her contempt for him, but he replies:²

A los sanctos religiosos
que hazen obra diuina,
captiua amor mas ayna
con sus tiros poderosos.

The hypocrite's courtship is interrupted by the arrival of a taffy-vender who threatens to punish the hermit for his infamous design. In her despair, the maiden calls upon the Virgin for aid, but the vender offers his protection. A quarrel is only averted by the intervention of the shepherdess and finally the vender suggests a game, the stakes of which

¹ It has been recently reprinted by Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, and by Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1913. Kohler, *ibid.*, p. 176, gives the arguments in favor of ascribing this play to Diego Durán.

² ll. 75-78.

shall be the alms which the hermit has received. The latter agrees and wins all the money of the vender, who then refuses to pay his debt. Again they abuse one another and the shepherdess again prevents them from coming to blows. The vender withdraws in discomfiture and the hermit tries to abduct the maiden by main force, but is prevented by the arrival of a friar who indignantly asks what he is doing alone with a woman. These two illustrious representatives of the Church then insult each other while the friar attempts to carry off the girl himself in order to protect her from the hermit. Failing in this, he hastens away to report the case to the Prior and a shepherd enters who charges the hermit with having attempted to seduce the maiden and calls his companion Gil. We naturally expect the hermit to receive a punishment commensurate with his offense, but strangely enough, after a few words of abuse, Gil suggests a game:

Con que ayamos alegría,
que oy me paresce día
con que gasajo tomeys.

They agree to play the game, "Do posa la mariposa," which is described in detail and ends with the complete discomfiture of the hermit. By this time, apparently, his offense is entirely forgotten. The four characters sit down together to eat and drink, and the play ends with a dance and a *villancico* beginning:

Oy, que es día de plazer,
tomemos gran gasajado,
por quitar nuestro cuidado!

which indicates that it was performed on Shrove Tuesday.

The basis of the play is the *requesta de amores* theme, in which other characters besides shepherds take part. The characteristics ascribed to the hermit and friar show the latitude which was permitted in Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century in the satire of the Religious Orders. The

author was undoubtedly a Castilian and the reference to the "barrio del Rey,"¹ seems to indicate that it was performed at Madrid. The original edition is undated, but its primitive character allows us to conjecture that it was probably composed before 1520.²

The *Egloga nuevamente compuesta* of Juan de París, the earliest known edition of which bears the date 1536,³ shows the influence of Enzina's *Cristino y Febea* and *Placida y Vitoriano*, with certain additions derived from the morality plays. A hermit appears who declares that life is full of trials and prays to God to guard him from temptation. He meets the knight Estacio who inveighs against the cruelty of Cupid. His lady, Numida, has disappeared, and in despair he seeks her over hill and valley, charging the god of Love with having ill recompensed his long service. He recounts at length the woes caused in ancient times by Cupid and determines to put an end to his life. The hermit comes from his place of concealment and reproaches him for the violence of his passion in words which recall the advice of the Nurse to Phaedra in Seneca's *Hippolytus*:⁴

No deues pensar ques dios el amor,
segun que creyan los ciegos gentiles;
mas mira, señor, por modos sutiles,
su diffinicion, ques mucho mejor:
amor es tristeza; amor es error,
que los coraçones abrasa y los ciega,
y es vna llama quel demonio pega
a las entrañas del nueuo amador.⁵

¹ L. 141.

² See Kohler, *ibid.*, pp. 178-79.

³ The edition of 1551, preserved at the Royal Library of Munich, was reprinted by Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911. The 1536 edition, preserved at the National Library of Madrid, has been reprinted by Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1913. Quotations in the text are taken from the latter edition.

⁴ ll. 195-201.

⁵ ll. 153-160.

With the argument used by Ovid in his *Remedia amoris*,¹ he tries to prove to the lover that he must banish all thoughts of Love at once from his heart:

A este, si damos pequena cabida,
no resistiendo a la entrada primera,
despues se acrecienta por vna manera
que nunca mas puede hallar la salida;
assi como el arbol, sin fuerza crecida,
estando muy tierno lo arrancaras,
mas desque bien crece, arrancar no podras;
assi es la costumbre por este tenida.²

The knight begs the hermit to aid him in his trouble and the hermit replies that Naso offers many remedies against the ills of Love, the chief one of which is to avoid idleness which led Aegisthus into sin³ and caused suffering to countless persons. He urges Estacio to banish love from his thoughts by devoting himself to the service of God, the knight consents and they set out together toward the hermitage.

The devil enters who accuses God of depriving him of the souls of men which belong to him and determines to seek Numida and re-unite the lovers so that Estacio will return to the world. As he withdraws to carry out his project, the shepherd Vicente appears, thoroughly frightened at having caught a glimpse of the devil. He hides behind some bushes and Numida draws near, praying that Cupid may allow her to find her lover. She sees Vicente in his hiding-place and asks him whether he has seen Estacio. The shepherd has not yet recovered from his fright and exclaims:

Aun si es el diablo aqueste cramo,
defiendame Dios y sancto Tomas!
arriadro te vayas, o mal Satanas!⁴

¹ ll. 81-88.

² ll. 161-68.

³ *Remedia amoris*, ll. 161-162.

⁴ ll. 297-299.

The lady bids him have no fear and Vicente, seeing with whom he has to deal, compliments her on her beauty and asks the cause of her sorrow:

mas dizme, señora, por que inconuiniente
 estades llorando con huertes passiones?
 tenes mal de madre, dolor de riñones,
 o quiças del baço, tambien de la frente?
 O estays empreñada de mala manera,
 y estays en puntillos de auer de parir?
 y si es desta guisa, deueyslo dezir;
 yre yo corriendo a llamar la partera.¹

She explains the cause of her grief in figurative language which the shepherd is entirely unable to understand, but when he learns that she mourns the absence of her lover, he proposes himself as a substitute, boasting of his prowess and promising all sorts of simple gifts. She refuses to listen to his proposals and Vicente summons his companion Cremon who may be able to offer advice. When the latter learns the condition of affairs, he declares that he is not surprised that Numida has refused the homely Vicente, but that she will surely accept himself. This leads to a dispute between the two shepherds who are on the point of coming to blows when they are reconciled by the maiden. Vicente then tells her that a hermit lives in the neighbourhood who may be able to inform her of the whereabouts of her lover. When they reach the hermitage, the hermit calls Estacio and the lovers offer thanks to God and Cupid who have re-united them. One glance at his lady suffices to cure the knight of all desire to embrace the religious life:

Agora reniego de mala fraylia;
 ni quiero hermitaño ni frayle mas ser.²

The hermit urges that the marriage ceremony be performed at once. Estacio objects that a wedding in the wilderness is

¹ ll. 309-316.

² ll. 537-38.

not befitting his lady, but Cremon will brook no delay and performs a comic ceremony which includes the blessing of his donkey as well as his own. The hermit invites Estacio and Numida to spend the night in his hut but Vicente objects, imputing dishonourable intentions to the holy man. The play ends with a *villancico* beginning:

Huyamos de ser vasallos
del amor,
pues por premio da dolor.

The play contains a number of elements with which we are already familiar. The search of Estacio and Numida for one another recalls the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* of Enzina, and the same author's *Egloga de Cristino y Febea* probably suggested the scene in which the unhappy lover embraces the religious life and then is led to return to the world by the sight of his lady. The *coplas de arte mayor* in which the play is composed recall Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores*. The courtship of Numida by two shepherds who are unable to understand her delicate feelings is found in Fernández's *Farsa o quasi comedia*.¹ The character of the devil is doubtless derived from the religious plays in which comic scenes frequently occur between that character and the *Bobo*.

Of the five Spanish eclogues of the Portuguese poet, Sâ de Miranda, only two appear to have been written for representation, *Alejo* and *Epitalamio*.² The first of these was composed

¹ For the relation of this play to earlier works, see Kohler, *ibid.*, 186-188. I am unable to find any connection between this farce of Juan de Paris and the plays of Torres Naharro, as Dr. Kohler claims.

² I have used the excellent edition of the *Poesias de Francisco de Sâ de Miranda*, by Senhora Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Halle, 1885, which contains the most trustworthy account of the poet's life and literary activity. The other Spanish eclogues of Miranda, *Celia*, *Andres* and *Nemoroso*, were probably not recited. The learned editor of Miranda, p. 834, states that the *Egloga Nemoroso* was sent to Antonio Pereira at Court, "onde seria representada para dar gosto ao Infante (D. Luiz)." In my opinion, the very nature of this composi-

about the year 1532, or at all events some time between his return from Italy and his retirement from Court, and was probably recited in the presence of the King.¹ The eclogue is written in the traditional *redondilhas*, but Miranda shows that his acquaintance with Italian poetry has borne fruit by the insertion of a *cançao* of entirely new form² and by the use of four stanzas of *ottava rima*, the first examples of this metre used in Portugal.

The young shepherd Alejo appears, a prey to some strange disease. He knows not whether it be Love or madness which makes him forget his sheep and his songs. A vague uneasiness allows him no peace. He lies down beside a spring and falls asleep. His foster-father, the old shepherd Sancho enters, calling in vain for the wayward boy who has forgotten the tender care which has been bestowed upon him. The old man continues his search and a nymph draws near to the sleeping youth. She casts loving glances upon him as she bids him rest, and then enchanting the spring, singing in praise of the all-powerful god of Love. Alejo awakes. He had dreamed that he was in a dark wilderness and that someone had called him by name, but he refuses to heed the summons, preferring to follow the guidance of Love. He drinks from the enchanted waters, loses his senses and disappears.

tion, written in 1537 to celebrate the memory of Garcilasso de la Vega, precludes the idea of representation. I expect to study elsewhere the Spanish non-dramatic pastoral eclogues.

¹ *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, p. 766. It was also presented at the house of Antonio Pereira about the year 1553. See *ibid.*, p. 847.

² He replaces the eight lines of the conventional *arte maior* by hem-decasyllables and inserts a *septenario italiano* in the middle of each stanza. In five of the ten strophes, the last line is repeated as the first line of the stanza following, an artifice employed in earlier Portuguese poetry and first used in the Italian eclogue by Francesco Arsocchi, and a little later by Sannazaro in the second eclogue of the *Arcadia*, ll. 81-100. See *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, p. cxiv, and Michele Scherillo's edition of the *Arcadia di Jacopo Sannazaro*, Torino, 1888, pp. ccxviii-ccxxii.

Two shepherds, Anton and Juan, enter, lamenting the absence of Ríbero¹ and alluding covertly to his retirement from Court. They recall a *cançao* on the cruelty of Love which the absent poet had once sung and which they recite in alternate strophes.² Their song is overheard by Toribio who is asked by Anton how he had liked "el cantar nuestro extranjero." Toribio is cautious in expressing approval of this new form of verse and Juan himself realizes the difficulty of introducing foreign fashions into a country where tradition has so much weight.³

Andar contra la costumbre
es nadar contra la vena.
Forzado es que se deslumbre
aunque tenga buena lena
i mas en tierra do tanto
el uso vale.
Si alguno del hilo sale,
encomienda se a buen santo!

Toribio then sings two songs in the traditional style, which are highly praised by his companions, and Juan declares in his admiration:⁴

Si muchos tales pastores
huviese por la montaña,
no se irian los loores
todos pera tierra estraña.

¹ The reference is to Bernardim Ribeiro, a friend of Miranda and author of the famous *Menina e moça*. For a discussion of the interpretation of this passage, see *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, pp. 767-770.

² Juan says of this composition:

Fue (sabes) de estraña parte
donde un tiempo ambos andamos,

thus proving that Ribeiro, as well as Juan (Miranda), had visited Italy. It does not follow that Ribeiro had written in the Italian manner. See Guimarães, *Bernardim Ribeiro*, Lisboa, 1908, pp. 114-15.

³ ll. 502-509.

⁴ ll. 678-685.

Aqui buenos naturales
suele haver,
mas vezos sin aprender
nos dañan nuestros zagaless.

Juan, who is Miranda himself, consents to sing a “cantar extranjero” and tells of his delight on becoming acquainted with the Italian forms of verse while in Italy:¹

Con deseo de ver tierras,
huve de pasar los puertos;
puse me a las blancas sierras,
rios del hielo cubiertos.
Alla que pastores vi!
Quan enseñados
a cantar versos rimados!
Que plazer que ende senti!

Vino un dia un viejo cano,
convidamos lo a cantar,
tomó la zampoña en mano,
tocó, bolvio la a posar.
Todos, sobre todo io
deseando
de oir mas, i porfiando,
el buen viejo asi cantó.

The song consists of four stanzas of *oitava rima* on the cruelty of Cupid. Judging from the manner in which the verses are introduced, and from Juan’s comment on a song by Anton² that it “was not stolen like mine,” we may believe that these octaves were translated or imitated from one of the Italian poets with whom Miranda became acquainted in Italy, but I have not succeeded in finding the original.

The shepherd Pelaio enters, declaring that there is a mad youth in the neighborhood who goes about composing verses. When Alejo appears, complaining of his suffering, the shepherds comment on his unhappy condition, and when they discover that he is tormented by “mal de amores,” Pelaio sug-

¹ Il. 710-725.

² Il. 835.

gests that they call a clerk to exorcise him. The shepherds then drink from the enchanted spring and they too are kindled by the fire of Love.

In his description of the love-madness of Alejo, Miranda may have been indebted to Enzina, Fernández or the anonymous *Egloga de Torino*, although the same incident is found in many of the early Italian eclogues. To this conventional theme he added the charming episode of the enchantment of the youth by a nymph, derived from Theocritus. Aside from the beauty of the verse, the importance of this eclogue in the literary history of Portugal can scarcely be overestimated since it represents the first attempt to introduce the Italian *ottava rima* into the poet's own country, although he was not yet ready to write the new measure in his native language. Miranda opened a brilliant period for Portuguese literature which reached its culminating point in Camoens.

The only other Spanish eclogue of Miranda which appears to have been recited is the *Egloga Epitalamio*, written shortly after 1535 at the Quinta da Tapada and directed to Antonio de Sá in honor of the marriage of his daughter Camila de Sá¹ with Joao Rodriguez de Sá. It is composed in *tercetos*, the metre most frequently employed in the Italian eclogues, and contains also two *canções á mancira toscana* with the rime scheme *abc abc cdeedff* and eight stanzas of *oitavas rimas* with an *estribilho* at the end of each. The interlocutors are two shepherds, Nuño and Toribio and the eclogue is brought to a close by a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses.

Nuño almost fails to recognize his friend Toribio who seems to be afflicted by some strange malady. He discovers, however, that the unhappy man is a victim of love's torments and gives him salutary advice, derived for the most part from Ovid's *Remedia amoris*, so frequently employed by the poets on such occasions. When Toribio confesses his helpless state, Nuño upbraids him for his weakness, but the love-sick shepherd refuses to heed the prudent counsel. Nuño then tells

¹ *Poesias de Francisco de Sá de Miranda*, p. 752.

him that one day Ribero had sung of the evils of Love and Gil¹ had extolled its blessings to a company of shepherds. Nuño repeats these *canções* and at the close a chorus of shepherds and shepherdesses sings an epithalamium, imitated from Catullus,² each stanza of which ends with an *estribilho* of two lines in honor of the family of Sâ to which both bride and groom belonged.

Sâ, Sâ, por aire, tierra i mar resuena
en comun alegria i buena estrena.

It is true that these two eclogues treat conventional themes and that they show no advance in dramatic construction as compared with the plays of Enzina, but the spirit in which they are conceived represents the progress made by Spanish poetry between the years 1513 and 1535. Enzina knew Vergil, but his paraphrase of the *Eclogues* shows that he was interested chiefly in their content rather than in their form. The influence of Italian literature upon his work is purely superficial. He is by far the most important of the poets whose verses were collected in the *Cancionero general*, but not because his attitude toward life or literature differed from theirs. Miranda, on the other hand, had a different ideal of art from the poets represented in the *Cancionero geral de Resende*. His classical studies had imbued him with an appreciation for form and when his intellectual curiosity led him to visit Italy, he not only assimilated the new artistic conceptions of the Renaissance, but also felt obliged to express these new ideas after the fashion of his Italian friends. His literary education was completed by a Spaniard, Garcilasso de la Vega.³

¹ The identity of Gil is not known.

² Compare especially the first stanza of Miranda, ll. 476-483, with Catullus, LXII, 21-24.

³ On the relations of Miranda and Garcilasso see Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos's notes in the *Poesias de Francisco de Sâ de Miranda*, pp. 831-38.

We have already seen that realistic scenes of pastoral life were introduced into the courtly pastoral by Enzina and Fernández. The Spaniard, with his innate love of realism, doubtless found ridiculous the exaggerated expression of the suffering caused by unrequited love which leads to death and which was borrowed from a foreign source. In Italy also, a realistic note makes its appearance in the character of Tirsi in Poliziano's *Orfeo* and from the beginning of the sixteenth century, popular plays were produced at Siena and frequently performed at Rome, in many of which the purpose of the authors to burlesque conventional pastoral themes is evident.¹ One of the most interesting of these Italian popular plays is Niccolò Campani's *Il Coltellino*² (1520), which is a manifest parody of a play of the same type as Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores*. Many plays of this kind were produced in Italy in the early years of the sixteenth century, especially by the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena.³ In most of the Spanish pastoral plays, the burlesque element is only incidental. Only in the *Farsa de la hechicera* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz do we find a play which may be considered primarily a parody of pastoral themes.⁴

A gallant appears, complaining that all his efforts to win the love of his sweetheart are futile and that nothing remains for him but death:⁵

¹ On the development of the *poesia rusticana* in Italy, see Enrico Carrara, *La poesia pastorale*, Milano, 1909, pp. 225-241.

² *Il Coltellino* has been reprinted in the collection entitled *Poesie drammatiche rusticali*, edited by Ferrario, Milano, 1812.

³ For the Congrega dei Rozzi see C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi di Siena nel secolo XVI*, 2 vols., Firenze, 1882.

⁴ This play is included in the collection of his works entitled *Recopilación en metro*, published by his nephew in 1554 and reprinted at Madrid, 1882-1886 in Vols. XI-XII of the *Libros de antaño*. The *Farsa de la hechicera* is published in Vol. XII and references are to this edition. Sánchez de Badajoz was born in Estremadura and his literary activity extended approximately from 1525 to 1547.

⁵ P. 223.

Pues no puedo, con vivir,
 serville en cosa que acierte,
 quierole ofrecer la muerte,
 quizas le podre servir.
 Mi nao ya no navega,
 mi propio querer me mata,
 mi vida muerte me trata,
 mi mano, porque la niega?
 Ya mi fin, en fin, se allega,
 ya siento vida mortal;
 sal aca, cruel puñal,
 y acaba vida tan ciega.

He lays hold of his dagger and is about to strike himself when a negress draws near who embraces and kisses him. He repulses her, and on remaining alone, proceeds to carry out his desperate resolve:¹

Esfuerza, brazo cuytado,
 tu esfuerzo y fuerza nombrada,
 saque esta alma desalmada
 deste cuerpo tan cansado,
 que viendome desalmado
 aquella fiera leona,
 satisfara su persona
 en verme asi maltratado.

Thrusting his dagger in his body, with as little success as Berna in *Il Coltellino*, he exclaims:²

Triste de mi, que no acierto,
 las fuerzas se me enflaquecen,
 los ojos se me escurecen,
 de todo bien soy desierto:
 O si con mi desconcierto
 pudiesse mirar sin vida,
 si se torna por servida
 en verme del todo muerto!
 O que terrible pasion!
 O mi alma, donde estas?

¹ P. 225.

² Pp. 225-26.

Sal, sal y satisfaras
 aquella dulce vision.
 Cubreseme el corazon :
 ay! ay! ay! que me desmayo,
 triste de mi, que me cayo!
 O que crudo galardon!

A shepherd enters who seeing the prostrate form, tries to revive him and makes ridiculous conjectures concerning the cause of his illness. Finding his efforts to restore him to consciousness unavailing, he places a string of garlic in the unhappy man's mouth and hastens off in search of the witch (*candclera*) "que sabe de mal de ombrigo." She asks the lover the cause of his illness and he replies:¹

Mi mal no tien redencion ;
 en mi corazon se sella
 tal herida de diamante,
 y de mano tan pujante
 que no cumple sanar della.

He extolls in exaggerated language the charms of his beloved and the witch, seeing that his case is serious, makes a circle on the ground, scatters grain in the form of a cross and begins her conjuration which will inflame with love the cold heart of his lady:²

Sea luego aqui conmigo
 Fapesmo y Baraliton,
 Dario Ferio y gran Pluton,
 que es el mayor enemigo ;
 trayo, invisible, consigo
 al lujurioso Asmodeo,
 para que cumpla el deseo
 en su amiga de este amigo.
 Saquemela de su cama,
 trayala aqui engarrafada,
 hagala venir penada
 encendida en viva llama ;

¹ P. 230.

² Pp. 233-34.

hagala de onesta dama,
 desonesta y lujuriosa,
 tan sucia como hermosa,
 torne en disgusto su fama.
 Sieguela del corazon,
 hagala muy atrevida,
 no espere a ser requerida,
 venzase de su pasion.
 No se sujetete a razon,
 no tenga temor ni freno,
 no escuche consejo bueno
 contra su ciega opinion.¹

A devil appears in response to the summons and he is sent off to re-unite the lovers while the shepherd, very much frightened at his appearance, takes refuge with the old woman inside the magic circle. He is finally carried off to prison by the magistrate on a false accusation of the witch and the spectator, or reader, remains in doubt as to the fate of the unhappy knight.

The laments of the melancholy lover recall those of Fileno and Torino as they prepared to end their days because of unrequited affection. The attempts at suicide in the early Italian and Spanish eclogues were preceded by a long and often tiresome recital of the suffering of the unhappy lover which reminds us of Tafano's comment on Berna in *Il Coltellino* as he tries to muster up courage to stab himself,

Chi vuol morir non fa tante parole.

It was this element which is burlesqued in the *Farsa de la hechicera*, and to this is added the inability of the rude shepherd to understand the cause of the lover's pain, which we have found in the *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* of Encina, the *Egloga de Torino* and in other early Spanish plays.

¹ The incantation is a common bucolic theme, found in the second Idyl of Theocritus, the second Bucolic of Vergil and Ninth Prose of the *Arcadia*. We find it in Spanish in the anonymous *Egloga pastoril*, see p. 60, and in Avendaño's *Comedia Florisea*. For this jargon, however, we need not seek for classical sources, it is merely a comic reproduction of the *ensalmos* pronounced by the village *encantadores*.

The conventional *requesta de amores* theme is treated in Diego de Negueruela's *Farsa llamada Ardamisa*.¹ Ardamisa appears, lamenting that her lover Galirano has abandoned her because of her own indifference, and calling upon death to ease her pain. She rejects indignantly the brutal proposals of a water-carrier (*aguador*) and the ridiculous pretensions of an enamoured Portuguese. The latter is driven away by a bragging swashbuckler, who offers her his protection in pompous phrases, boasting of the exploits which he has already performed:²

O mi espada !
si lengua te fuese dada,
como darias fama eterna
de la gran honra ganada
del braço que te gouerna !

.....

Las hazañas
y marauillas estrañas
de mis fuerças indomestas,
a las brutas alimañas
aun les son ya manifiestas.

Si mandays,
porque mas me conozcays,
si mi nombre hos he celado
yo quiero que lo sepays,
que por nombre soy llamado
Fierotrasso,
aquel es que a cada passo
haze los hombres pedaços,
el que por montes y rastos
haze carne con sus braços.

This illustrious descendant of Pyrgopolinices, however, does not offer his protection disinterestedly for he threatens to gain possession of the lady by violent means. In her terror, Ardamisa calls upon Galirano for aid and the lover appears in the very nick of time. She describes to him how Fierotrasso

¹ Reprinted from an undated edition, by Léo Rouanet in the *Biblioteca hispanica*, Madrid, 1900.

² ll. 580-604.

had threatened to kill her and the bully tries to intimidate Galirano, but no sooner does the latter touch him than the braggart falls to the ground, exclaiming:¹

Ay, ay, ay! que soy muerto!
credo in Deum, valame Dios!

Ardamisa rejoices at the painful experiences which she has suffered since at last she has again met her lover. Galirano tries to inquire the road to the nearest town from a shepherd who appears at that moment, but the latter is afraid to draw near and is unable to understand the plight of the lovers. They then debate the question so often discussed in the early pastorals, whether shepherds feel the pains of love the same as the *palaciegos*. A friar then accosts them who introduces himself as follows:²

A mi llaman fray Artendo,
maestro en sacra theologia,
gran letrado,
qu'en Paris fuy graduado
de maestro, mi señor,
y tanto he trabajado
que soy gran sermonador.

He preaches the lovers a sermon to prove that the salvation of their souls is endangered by their passion for one another. He suggests that Galirano enter a monastery and offers to conduct the lady to a place of safety himself. The shepherd, however, has no confidence in the promises of friars and exclaims:³

Do a huego tal religioso!
Señor, no confieys en el;
no veys como esta rauioso
por lleuarsela con el?

Ardamisa and Galirano withdraw and the friar finds the

¹ ll. 701-702.

² ll. 985-991.

³ ll. 1118-1121.

prostrate braggart who proves to be only badly frightened. The friar can not resist the temptation to preach to him on the error of his ways and learns from him how he had been worsted in his encounter with Galirano. They plan to abduct the lady, the friar stipulating that he can not take part in such a heinous project unless he gains possession of Ardamisa himself. The Portuguese also enters into the conspiracy and they threaten the shepherd with death unless he will guide them to the house where the lovers have sought refuge. He consents to this and as the conspirators stand before the door, Ardamisa and Galirano come forth, bid farewell to the audience and the play ends with a sword dance.

The treatment of the *requesta de amores* theme in this play recalls Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia* and especially the *Egloga nueva* of Diego Durán, in both of which a lady in search of her lover is exposed to insulting proposals. It was a simple matter to add other characters such as the Portuguese and *rufián*, stock figures in sixteenth-century comedy. The gipsy fortune teller adds a bit of local colour and the shameless friar who appears in so many plays of this period indicates the popular attitude toward the Religious Orders. This play, however, is by no means popular in spirit and was probably performed before an aristocratic audience. The sentiments expressed by Galirano and Ardamisa are couched in the courtly manner and the fact that the shepherd is represented as a clown is sufficient evidence that the play was not designed for a popular performance.

We know nothing of the author, Diego de Negueruela. The only early edition bears no date and its recent editor conjectures that it was printed in the first half of the sixteenth century, at the latest shortly after 1550. Judging from its primitive character, we may not be far wrong in assigning its composition to about the year 1530.

The *requesta de amores* theme treated *á lo divino* is found in the *Coplas de una doncella y un pastor*.¹ A maiden appears,

¹ Reprinted by Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros*

complaining of her unhappy lot and desirous of death. She meets a shepherd who asks her where she is going and when she declares that she wishes to remain alone, he tells her to beware of the wild man (*salvaje*) :

Que si viene y lo oteais,
no es mucho que cayais
en el suelo amodorrida!
y aun si viene de corrida
y en aqueste valle os toma,
no fuera mucho que os coma
antes que halleis guardia.

She replies that she hopes he will come and put an end to her suffering. The shepherd retires and comes back dressed in his best clothes and is more astonished than before that she refuses to listen to his proposals. His courtship is interrupted by the arrival of the wild man and the shepherd takes to his heels.

Contrary to our expectations, the wild man proves to be very tame. He tells her that only in solitude can one find relief from the troubles of life and advises her to go to a hermitage near by, where she may consecrate herself to the Virgin. She gladly consents and the shepherd agrees to show them the way, after much hesitation, for he is still frightened at the appearance of the wild man. The hermit urges them to free themselves of all worldly thoughts and the maiden, the wild man and the shepherd fall on their knees and pray to the Virgin.

The beginning of this play resembles Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia*, the *Egloga nueva* of Durán and the *Farsa Ar-damisa*, and it is evident that we have to do here with a religious treatment of the same theme. The *salvaje* is probably derived from earlier popular satyr plays.¹

raros y curiosos, Vol. I, Madrid, 1863, cols. 703-711, from an edition of 1604. Salvá, *Catálogo*, vol. i, p. 420, mentions an edition published about the year 1530 and ascribes the play to a certain Eugenio Alberto. Moratín mentions an edition of 1540. I have used the reprint of Gallardo.

¹ See F. Neri, *La maschera del selvaggio*, an article published in the *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, Vol. LIX, 1912, pp. 47-68.

A more ambitious treatment of conventional pastoral motives than hitherto attempted is found in the *Comedia Florisea* of Francisco de Avendaño,¹ first published in 1551, the earliest Spanish play which we possess divided into three *jornadas*. After a comic prologue in rustic style, which seems to be an imitation of the prologue to Torres Naharro's *Comedia Trofea*,² a knight bearing the ominous name of Muerto appears, railing at the cruelty of Fortune which has brought him to poverty and sorrow in his old age. His servant Listino urges him to bear adversity with stoical spirit since Fortune's wheel is never stable and mankind is subject to various vicissitudes of fate. The gentleman, however, turns a deaf ear to this salutary advice and declares that death alone can free him from his misery. Listino, evidently recalling the advice of Cardonio to Fileno in somewhat similar circumstances,³ reminds him that such a course will endanger his soul's salvation and adduces theological and philosophical arguments to prove his point. Muerto pretends to be convinced by this advice and sends Listino to a monastery nearby to ask for his admission, promising to do himself no harm while his page is absent.⁴ Listino, however, doubts his master's sincerity and hides close by in order to prevent, if possible, any harm from befalling him.

When Muerto remains alone, he determines to carry out his design and with a prayer for mercy on his lips is about to put an end to his life when Floriseo rushes forward and asks the cause of his sorrow which has led him to contemplate suicide. Muerto replies that he has been reduced from prosperity to low estate and that nothing remains for him but death. On hearing this, Floriseo exclaims:⁵

¹ Reprinted by Sr. Bonilla y San Martín in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXVII, 1912.

² Bonilla y San Martín, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXVII, p. 399.

³ Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores*, *Teatro completo*, p. 215.

⁴ Vitoriano makes a similar promise to Suplicio in Enzina's *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, *Teatro completo*, p. 325.

⁵ II. 654-68.

O cuytados!
 por dios que somos topados
 dos hombres tan sin ventura,
 que jamas forjó natura
 otros dos mas lastimados.¹

He further explains that his heart is consumed with love of a maiden whom he seeks in vain and they determine to end their lives together. At this point Listino intervenes, reminding them of the Divine command against self-destruction, but his arguments are unheeded and he withdraws.

Floriseo reviles Cupid for his treachery in terms which recall the laments of Fileno and Vitoriano, and Muerto inveighs against the cruelty of Fortune. They confess their sins in preparation for death, but the double suicide is again prevented by the arrival of the shepherd Salauer who makes sport of them. He asks Muerto and Floriseo the cause of their trouble, and the latter replies:²

esto yo abrasado
 de la llama de Cupido.

Salauer is unable to understand this figurative language and answers:

como os quemays? por mi amor,
 pues no ay lumbre no es possibile.³

Floriseo tries to explain that Love is the source of his pain but the shepherd is not interested and invites them to sit down in the shade and rest.

In the second *jornada*, the maiden Blancaflor appears, lamenting that Love has made her more miserable than Polixena, Progne, Philomena, Betsabe or Dido, since Floriseo is lost in the mountains through love of her. She meets Listino who,

¹ This incident recalls Tansillo's *Due Pellegrini*.

² ll. 1057-58.

³ As we have seen, incidents of this kind are found in a number of early Spanish plays.

in reply to her questions, tells her that he has just left two gentlemen who contemplated suicide, one because of Fortune's cruelty and the other because of unrequited love and that the latter's name was Floriseo. He offers to guide her to the spot in order that their bodies may at least be recovered if they have carried out their sinister purpose. Listino, however, starts off alone and the maiden is accosted by the *simple* Salauer who asks why she risks her life by wandering alone in the wilderness, exposed to many dangers. When she explains that she seeks her lover, he urges, as in Fernández's *Farsa o cuasi comedia*, that she accept him as a substitute. Muerto then appears who also suggests that in his company she may be able to forget the object of her search but she indignantly rejects this unworthy proposal. At this point Floriseo appears and the lovers are reunited after their long separation.

In the third *jornada*, Fortuna appears, boasting of her limitless power. She is seen by Salauer who, thoroughly frightened, summons Pedruelo, the *encantador*, to protect them from the monster. Pedruelo pronounces a comic incantation, but Fortuna declares that all their efforts to resist her are unavailing and reveals her identity. Salauer and Pedruelo then assail her for all the ills she has brought upon them until Muerto bids them be silent and prepare for the wedding. Salauer assumes the role of priest, as in the *Egloga* of Juan de París, and performs a comic ceremony, uniting Floriseo and Blancaflor. Fortuna presents the couple with a wedding present of one thousand ducats and promises to provide bountifully for Muerto. The play ends with a song.

Sr. Bonilla says in the introduction to his reprint¹ that the *Comedia Florisca* belongs to the school of Torres Naharro. It is true that the prologue resembles that of the *Comedia Trofea*, that the comic scene between the shepherd and Fortuna undoubtedly recalls the same play and that the division into *jornadas* is derived from Naharro. As for the theme and treatment, however, it is evident that the author merely bor-

¹ *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xxvii, p. 392.

rowed incidents frequently found in the earlier pastoral drama. The influence of Encina's later plays is most apparent.

The more formal type of dramatic eclogue in Spain is represented by the *Comedia Tibalda* of Per Alvarez de Ayllón, first published in 1553 with the title, *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo llamada disputa y remedio de amor en la qual se tratan subtiles sentencias por quatro pastores: Hilario, Preteo, Tibaldo, Griseño y dos pastoras, Polindra y Belaura*. In the prologue to this edition, which was later reprinted at Valladolid, Luis Hurtado de Toledo says that he had procured a copy of the play which had neither been corrected nor completed because of the author's death, and that he had added what in his opinion was lacking, modestly excusing himself for the imperfections of his own work when compared with the original. A fortunate discovery by Señor Bonilla y San Martín of a manuscript containing the original version of Per Alvarez de Ayllón, entitled *Comedia Tibalda*, allows us to determine the extent of the additions made by Luis Hurtado de Toledo.¹

The date of composition of the *Comedia Tibalda* is not known. Inasmuch as certain verses of Per Alvarez de Ayllón are included in the 1511 edition of the *Cancionero General* of Hernando del Castillo, we are justified in ascribing the play to a much earlier date than that of its publication by Hurtado de Toledo. It is written in octaves of *arte mayor*, the metre used by Juan del Enzina in his *Egloga de tres pastores*, with which it also offers striking similarities in subject matter.

The argument of the *Comedia Tibalda* is in brief as follows. The mournful shepherd Tibaldo inveighs against the cruelty of Love because his sweetheart Polindra has forsaken him and has married the old but wealthy shepherd Griseno. His friend Preteo reproves him for his excessive grief and suggests prudent means by which he may banish the girl from his

¹ Sr. Bonilla has republished the *Comedia Tibalda*, using the variants of the second edition of Valladolid, together with the additions of Hurtado de Toledo in the *Bibliotheca hispanica*, Madrid, 1903. All references are to this edition.

thoughts. Tibaldo attempts to refute these arguments, alleging the universality of Love which has triumphed over even the most powerful, and extolling the charm and grace of Polindra. Preteo then expatiates at length on the imperfections of women, to which Tibaldo replies with theological and sophistical arguments to prove the superiority of woman over man, citing examples of the illustrious and virtuous women of the past. The dispute is interrupted by the appearance of the shepherdess herself who is obliged to listen to Tibaldo's insulting remarks concerning the age and bodily defects of her husband. At this point Griseno appears who resents the jibes of Tibaldo, but Polindra and Preteo finally effect a reconciliation between the husband and the rejected suitor.

Hurtado de Toledo was dissatisfied with this ending and added about twenty-eight stanzas to the original play. Tibaldo declares that his love for Polindra was dictated solely by reason and that he had blamed her for making an unequal match. The husband is so impressed by Tibaldo's appeal that he bids Polindra heal the wound which she has caused. The disappointed lover, not to be outdone in generosity, declares that he has been cured of his grief by his rival's kind words and the play ends with a song.

In the *Comedia Tibalda*, which is merely a literary exercise and was certainly not designed for representation, the pastoral element is merely used as a vehicle for the discussion of two themes which are frequently met with in Spanish literature of the early sixteenth century, the remedies for the illness of Love and the question of the imperfections of woman. It was because Per Alvarez de Ayllón was primarily interested in the development of these subjects that Hurtado de Toledo considered the play unfinished and deemed it necessary to add another *dénouement* which is even less satisfactory to us than that of the original version.

The theme of the omnipotence of Love, which forms the basis of a large part of the courtly lyric poetry of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, is frequently found associated

with its corollary, the remedies against the pains of Love.¹ The *Ars amatoria*, *Remedia amoris* and other works of Ovid were the chief sources from which these ideas were derived.² In Enzina's *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, Suplicio counsels Vitoriano to cure himself of his passion for Placida by love for another lady and cites examples from classical antiquity in which this course has proved successful, closely following the advice by Ovid in the *Remedia amoris*.³ Likewise the recommendations of the hermit to the love-sick Estacio in the *Farsa* of Juan de París are taken from the same source and Naso is expressly mentioned as the authority.⁴ The influence of Ovid's *Remedia amoris* is still more clearly shown in the *Comedia Tibalda*, for Preteo follows this work almost literally in the advice which he gives to Tibaldo to banish Love from his thoughts.

Great ills come from trifling causes, he tells him, and delay in the cure is fatal,⁵ just as a tree is easily uprooted only when young;⁶ avoid idleness which is the source of all the sufferings of Love;⁷ devote yourself to games; attend to your fields and vineyards;⁸ find pleasure in hunting and fishing;⁹ if these

¹ These themes are found in a number of Spanish non-dramatic eclogues of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

² Professor Rudolph Schevill in his interesting monograph, *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*, *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, vol. iv, 1913, has shown the continuity of the Ovid tradition in Spain throughout the medieval and Renaissance periods.

³ *Teatro completo de Juan del Encina*, p. 273, and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 452-460.

⁴ See p. 64.

⁵ ll. 161-68 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 95-98.

⁶ ll. 169-176 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 81-88.

⁷ ll. 409-416 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 135-144.

⁸ ll. 433-440 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 169-198.

⁹ ll. 441-512 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 199-210. This recalls the advice given to the love-sick Clonico by Eugenio in the Eighth Eclogue of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*. Sylvano gives similar counsel to the unhappy Hyrcano in Seraphino Aquilano's third eclogue, *Opere dello elegantissimo poeta Seraphino Aquilano*, Venezia, 1557, p. 59.

diversions afford you no relief, enter the army, for one form of warfare is conquered by another; your sorrow will be relieved by travel;¹ your departure will be sorrowful but victory lies in flight;² be firm in your resolve not to return;³ when your grief is greatest, feign that your thoughts are fixed on another lady and try to imagine that Polindra is devoid of charm.⁴ Preteo concludes by promising to find for him a shepherdess more attractive than Polindra.⁵

The formal debate between Preteo and Tibaldo regarding the relative imperfections of women treats a theme which was exceedingly popular in Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Professor Arturo Farinelli has shown in an interesting article⁶ that *Il Corbaccio* of Boccaccio was the chief arsenal from which the detractors of women drew their weapons, while the same author's *De claris mulieribus* furnished the defense which the friends of the fair sex employed. This *contrasto* made its first appearance in the Spanish drama in the *Egloga de tres pastores* of Enzina,⁷ in which the arguments pro and con are derived from these two works of Boccaccio.⁸

In the *Comedia Tibalda*, Preteo attempts to relieve his

¹ ll. 521-528 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 213-214.

² ll. 529-536 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 215-216.

³ ll. 545-552 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 241-248.

⁴ ll. 553-576 and *Remedia amoris*, ll. 299 ff.

⁵ In like manner, in Encina's *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano*, Suplicio suggests Flugencia to Vitoriano as a counter-irritant for his passion for Placida.

⁶ *Note sulla fortuna del Corbaccio nella Spagna medievale*, published in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie, Festgabe für Adolfo Mussafia*, Halle, 1905.

⁷ See p. 32.

⁸ The same debate is used as an introduction to Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's *Farsa del matrimonio* (1530) and is the subject of the third part of the *Colloquio pastoril* of Antonio de Torquemada, published by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. ii, Madrid, 1907. See also an article, *Antifeminismo medievale*, by Carlo Pascal, published in a volume entitled *Poesia latina medievale*, Catania, 1907.

friend's suffering by attacking women, charging them with cruelty, avarice, insincerity, fickleness, courtesy, treachery and all other faults and vices. The influence of the *Corbaccio* is evident, but I have found few cases of textual agreement. Tibaldo then undertakes an inordinately long defense of women in the course of which he marshals various theological and scholastic reasons to prove his case. In this discussion, the author did little more than versify certain of the arguments employed by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón in his *Triunfo de las donas*.¹ A comparison of the two texts not only serves to show the indebtedness of Per Alvarez de Ayllón, but also makes clear certain passages in the *Comedia Tibalda*.

Tibaldo adduces the following reasons to prove the superiority of woman over man. Woman was created after man;² Eve did not lose her innocence until after Adam had eaten the forbidden fruit;³ man sinned knowingly while woman was deceived;⁴ God first created the body and then the soul, in the creation of woman he made an end to all his works;⁵ man was created from clay and woman from perfect flesh;⁶ woman was created in Paradise while man was created in the Damascene field;⁷ the superiority of woman is shown in her beauty

¹ *Obras de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (ó del Padrón)*. Edited by Sr. Paz y Melía, Madrid, MDCCCLXXXIV.

² *Tibalda*, ll. 1012-16 and Padrón, first argument, p. 88.

³ *Tibalda*, ll. 1017-24 and Padrón, thirteenth argument, p. 91.

⁴ *Tibalda*, ll. 1025-32 and Padrón, twelfth argument, p. 91.

⁵ *Tibalda*, ll. 1033-40 and Padrón, first argument, pp. 88-89.

⁶ *Tibalda*, ll. 1041-48 and Padrón, third argument, p. 89. Professor Karl Pietsch mentions this passage of Rodríguez del Padrón and adds some interesting parallels in an article entitled *Notes on Spanish Folklore, Modern Philology*, vol. v, 1907, pp. 98-100.

⁷ *Tibalda*, ll. 1049-56 and Padrón, second argument, p. 89. Line 1052 of the *Comedia Tibalda* should read: *y al hombre crio en el campo damasceno*, not *amasçeno*. Pietsch, *ibid.*, p. 99, gives a number of examples in which the *ager damascenus* is spoken of as the birthplace of Adam. Pulci, however, in his *Morgante Maggiore*, Canto XXV, stanza 28, speaks of "il campo Amaseen" as the birthplace of Adam.

and wisdom;¹ women invented many useful arts while homicide and theft are derived from men;² God was insulted and crucified by men and was mourned by women;³ Christianity was persecuted by men and defended by women;⁴ the female eagle is far superior to the male and all virtues are born in women.⁵ Tibaldo then cites as additional proof a long list of famous women of antiquity, almost all of whom are eulogized in similar terms in Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*.

Luis Hurtado de Toledo not only attempted to compose a more satisfactory ending to the *Comedia Tibalda*,⁶ but also wrote a pastoral eclogue entitled *Egloga Siluiana del galardon de amor* which was published at Valladolid with the second edition of the *Comedia Tibalda* (or *Comedia de Preteo y Tibaldo*). The date of this edition is not known, but inasmuch as it closely resembles the *Comedia Tibalda* in subject and manner of treatment, we may ascribe it to a date shortly after the publication of Per Alvarez de Ayllón's eclogue in 1553.

The *Egloga Siluiana*, composed in *coplas de arte mayor*, is an evident imitation of the anonymous *Egloga de Torino*. Silbano inveighs against the cruelty of Cupid who had caused his love for Silvia to be unrequited. Like Fileno, Torino and many other hapless shepherds, he bids farewell to his staff, his flock and the beloved valley where he had been smitten by Cupid's arrow, and prepares to die.

In the second act, the shepherd Lascibo appears, declaring to his companion Quirino that neither the rich nor the poor

¹ *Tibalda*, ll. 1057-64 and Padrón, fifth argument, pp. 89-90.

² *Tibalda*, ll. 1079-86 and Padrón, twenty-first argument, pp. 100-101.

³ *Tibalda*, ll. 1087-94 and Padrón, twenty-ninth and thirtieth arguments, pp. 108-109.

⁴ *Tibalda*, ll. 1095-1102 and Padrón, arguments 33-36, pp. 110-112.

⁵ *Tibalda*, ll. 1103-1110 and Padrón, thirty-seventh argument, p. 112.

⁶ Hurtado de Toledo (1530?-1591?) was also the author of the *Cortes del casto amor*, *Trecientas en defensa de ilustres mujeres*, the *Historia de San Joseph* and other works, and completed the *Cortes de la muerte* of Micael de Carvajal.

man is content with his lot, but his moralizing is interrupted by the sight of the prostrate Silbano. Quirino, who recalls Guillardo in the *Egloga de Torino*, makes absurd conjectures concerning the cause of his illness or death, and when the lover is finally restored to consciousness, his companions are unable to understand the figurative language which he employs.

Silbano. Son mis dolores tan grandes y ciertos,
que estando en el fuego me tienen temblando.
Quirino. Ni yo no te entiendo ni sé qué te dizes.
Tu tiemblas con fuego y en frío te abrasas?

Silbano tries to explain that he is suffering the pangs of unrequited love, but that he glories in his sorrow, a distinction which his ruder companions are unable to comprehend.

In the third act, Silvia approaches and asks the shepherds the subject of their discussion. Silbano pleads for some consideration or mark of favour, but the lady is unwilling to listen to his suit and his friends reproach him for his folly. In the fourth act Rosedo, Silvia's husband, appears, expressing his delight at the beauties of Nature, and while Silvia, who has followed him, lies concealed in the bushes, he bursts forth in a lyrical address to the dawn with something of the fervour of Chantecler himself.¹ Silvia then steps forward and accuses him of infidelity, in the belief that he had addressed some shepherdess. The unfortunate Rosedo, who thus pays the penalty for early rising, has the greatest difficulty in persuading his jealous wife that his sonnet was directed to Aurora. At this point Silbano appears and Rosedo learns that the shepherd has been made miserable through love for Silvia. Filled with sympathy for the unhappy lover, Rosedo bids his wife console him for he himself had experienced the pains of Love, but Silbano refuses to accept this unexpected remedy, declaring that Rosedo's generosity has freed his body of all sensual thoughts.

The *Egloga Silviana* is one of the most insipid and worth-

¹ This was evidently suggested by the story of Cephalus and Procris, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VII.

less of the Spanish pastorals. The first two acts, describing the lover's unhappy plight and the mockery of his friends are a close imitation of the anonymous *Egloga de Torino* and the ridiculous suggestion of Rosedo that Silvia offer some mark of favour to the disappointed suitor is derived from Hurtado de Toledo's addition to the *Comedia Tibalda*. The sentiments expressed are extremely artificial, the verse is halting and the cause of Silvia's jealousy is absurd. The author does not appear to have been endowed either with a dramatic sense or with poetical gifts of a very high order. The nature of the eclogue precludes the possibility of having been composed for representation.

A better developed plot and far more human interest is found in the *Farça a manera de tragedia*, the single extant copy of which, preserved at the British Museum,¹ appeared at Valencia in the year 1537. The anonymous author probably borrowed from Torres Naharro the division of the play into five acts, which he calls *autos*.

After a comic prologue, including a brief summary of the argument, the shepherd Torcato enters, expressing his delight that he has won the love of Liria. He confides his secret to his friend Roseno who is sceptical and refuses to believe until he hears the truth from Liria herself. Torcato bids him hide and promises that he will be satisfied since he has an engagement at that very spot with his lady. The latter appears, joyful in the certainty of her love for Torcato. She has struggled against her growing passion but now yields with delight and even Nature seems to smile upon her happiness. Yet she is timid when she sees him and begs him to act with prudence, although affirming at the same time her love. Her brother Carlino suspects their relations and determines to lose no time in informing her husband Gazardo who will take her life for her infidelity.

¹ This play has recently been reprinted by Dr. Hugo A. Rennert, *Revue Hispanique*, vol. xxv, Paris, 1911, and in a revised edition at Valladolid in 1914.

The next three acts show us Gazardo, a *paysan parvenu*, who at first pays little attention to the scandal-monger Carlino but finally consents to set a trap for the lovers in the form of a forged letter. This letter, purporting to be from Liria, is delivered to Torcato, in which the lady informs him that the secret of their relations has been discovered, that she no longer cares for him and bids him to leave the neighborhood. The lover's joy is turned to despair, he writes with his own blood a letter to Liria charging her with his death and stabs himself. Liria receives the missive, finds the body of Torcato and with loud laments at his death and lack of faith, kills herself. Gazardo grieves over his loss but Carlino is unmoved by his sister's death, declaring that it was well deserved.

The influence of Torres Naharro is evident in the formal division of the play into five acts, and the passion of two lovers, thwarted by the lady's brother, recalls as M. Mérimée suggests, the *Comedia Himenea* of the same author.¹ However, in this portrayal of the tragedy of love we are reminded at once of the *Egloga de tres pastores* and *Egloga de Placida y Vitoriano* of Enzina. The double suicide recalls especially the latter play where a similar *dénouement* is only averted by the kind offices of Venus and Mercury. The second, third and fourth acts are far inferior to the first and last. Carlino resembles the complacent husband, *cornudo y contento*, whom we find at a later date in Lope de Rueda's *Tercer Paso* and in the character of Cornalla in Timoneda's *Comedia llamada Carmelia* (or *Cornelia*). The opening scene has real poetic beauty and the death of Torcato and Liria is portrayed with real feeling. In spite of its evident defects, it is unquestionably one of the best plays produced in Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century. Although the characters often express themselves in the conventional style of the sentimental novels of the day, the play is interesting as one of the first attempts to introduce a real plot with human interest into a purely pastoral composition.

¹ *L'Art dramatique à Valencie*, p. 125.

With the triumph of Italian comedy in the second half of the sixteenth century, the imitations of the *Propaladia* of Torres Naharro, the realistic elements borrowed from the *Celestina*, and the influence of classical and Italian tragedy, the Spanish drama enlarged its scope and was no longer content to repeat the commonplaces of Enzina. In the growing tendency toward a realistic portrayal of everyday life in comedy and toward the heroic play in tragedy, the pastoral play was sure to decline. It is true that a number of later plays such as the *Coloquio de Camila* and *Coloquio de Tymbria* retained the pastoral atmosphere, but these are derived from an imitation of Plautus or an Italian imitator of classical comedy, and simply prove that the pastoral disguise was employed in obedience to a firmly established tradition.

Lope de Vega, in the dedication of his play, *La Arcadia*, while admitting that it owes something to imitation of classical works, adds: "si bien el uso de España no admite las rusticas Bucolicas de Teocrito, antiguamente imitadas del famoso poeta Lope de Rueda."¹ However, only two plays of Lope de Rueda are extant which can properly be classed as pastoral and neither of these shows to any great degree imitation of the Greek poet.

The *Comedia llamada Discordia y question de Amor*, mentioned by Baltasar Gracián in his *Águdeza y arte de ingenio*, has recently been published from an edition of 1617 by Francisco R. de Uhagón² who conjectures that it was originally printed at Valencia by Juan Timoneda. It is not certain that the play is correctly ascribed to Lope de Rueda, but if he be the author, it is reasonably sure that the division into three *jornadas* is the work of some *arreglador* in order to conform to the practice in vogue at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The first act treats a theme which is also found in the *Auto*

¹ *Parte treceña de las comedias de Lope de Vega*, 1620. The passage is quoted by Cotarelo y Mori, *Estudios de historia literaria*, pp. 241-42.

² In the *Revista de Archivos*, vol. vi, 1902.

pastoril portuguez of Gil Vicente and in the story related by Selvagia in the first book of Montemayor's *Diana*. Salucio loves Leonida, but she is enamoured of Pretonio, who has set his affections upon Silvia, who will accept only the love of Salucio. They all curse Love for the trick he has played upon them, and finally determine to refer the question to him for decision. Wearing bandages over their eyes, since Love has blinded them, they set out for the interview.

In the second act, Cupid bids all true lovers gather beneath his standard, boasting of his unlimited power and promising to grant his favours in abundance to those who faithfully serve him. He falls asleep and Diana and a nymph, Belisa, appear. They see the sleeping Cupid, take his bow and arrow, and then awaken him, asking why he has ventured to trespass upon the territory of the goddess. He replies that his supreme power recognizes no restraints and declares to Diana that he is ruler over all mankind and of herself as well. He weeps bitterly when he discovers that he is disarmed, but Diana offers him no sympathy and declares that he must pay for his arrogance. With the aid of Belisa, she binds him hand and foot and places above him an inscription to the effect that no one shall release him under penalty of being punished by Love himself. The inevitable *bobo* appears who makes fun of the predicament in which the little god finds himself and Cupid, in despair, calls upon Venus for help but is answered only by Echo.

In the third act, the unhappy shepherds and shepherdesses arrive at the abode of Cupid. When they remove the bandages from their eyes, they are amazed on seeing the god in bonds. On Cupid's promise to repay their service, they release him and then read the inscription:¹

Preso como veys assi
Castidad dexó al Amor
por aleuoso y traydor,
quien le quitare de aqui
que muera desamor.

¹ P. 352.

Cupid, however, counsels them to have no fear and bids them relate the cause of their sorrow. Salucio explains that the love of each is unrequited and urges him to change the object of their affections. Cupid promises to comply in return for the service that they have rendered him, and asks:¹

qual quereys que mude aqui,
las pastoras, o pastores?

The shepherds claim that since a lover's affection must be constant, Leonida and Silvia should yield, while the maidens declare that since there is no truer love than that of a woman, Salucio and Petronio should change. The question is discussed at length until Cupid, unable to reach a conclusion satisfactory to all parties, brings the dispute to a close by saying:

Estaos con vuestras passiones
hasta que el tiempo os ayude
a mudar las aficiones:
y pues en los coraçones
padeceys mortales penas,
quiero con estas cadenas
meteros en mis prisiones.

The threat of Diana is thus fulfilled. It will be seen that here the defeat of Cupid by Chastity is added to the theme of love unrequited in two or more couples.

This ingenious arrangement of unhappy lovers is found in the introduction to Gil Vicente's *Auto pastoril portuguez*, represented before King John the Third on Christmas Eve, 1523. This deals with the love affairs of three shepherds and three shepherdesses, each of whom meets only with rebuffs from the object of his or her love. Joanne loves Catalina, who has lost her heart to Fernando, who is enamoured of Madanella, who has set her affections upon Affonso, who adores Inez, who idolizes Joanne. Each expresses his grief on finding his or her love unreturned:²

¹ P. 353.

² *Obras de Gil Vicente*, Coimbra, 1907, vol. i, p. 32.

Joanne. Oh Catalina!
Catalina. Oh Fernando!
Fernando. Oh Madanella!
Madanella. Oh Affonso!
 Oh quando, quando
 me quereras algum bem!
Affonso. Oh Inez! quanto mal tem
 esta maleita, em que ando!
Inez. Oh Joanne! quão amiga
 que sam do teu bom doairo!
Joanne. Se não tens outro repairo,
 cant'eu não sei que te diga.
Fernando. Isto chamão amor louco,
 eu por ti e tu por outro.

The knot is left untied and the play ends with the adoration of the Virgin.

The same artificial circle of unhappy lovers is found in the sixth Idyl of Moschus and also occurs in the first book of Montemayor's *Diana*, where Selvagia tells of the suffering caused to herself and her three companions by unrequited love, for by some curious caprice of Fate, the ardent shepherd or shepherdess was destined to find his or her love unreturned. "Ved que estraño embuste de amor. Si por uentura Ysmenia yua al campo, Alanio tras ella, si Montano yua al ganado, Ysmenia tras el, si yo andaua al monte con mis ouejas, Montano tras mi. Si yo sabia que Alanio estaua en un bosque donde solia repastar, alla me iua tras el. Era la mas nueua cosa del mundo oyr como dezia Alanio sospirando, ay Ysmenia!, y como Ysmenia dezia, ay Seluagia!, y como Seluagia dezia, ay Montano!, y como Montano dezia, ay mi Alanio!"¹ The last lines in the passage quoted above from Vicente were glossed by Alanio in his song to Ysmenia in the *Diana*, "cantando," says Montemayor, "este antiguo cantar:

Amor loco, ay amor loco!
 yo por uos, y uos por otro."

¹ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. ii, Madrid, 1907, p. 264.

The similarity in subject and treatment and the fact that Montemayor seems to quote from Vicente makes it extremely probable that the *Auto pastoril portuguez* is the source of Selvagia's story in the *Diana*.¹

The only other extant play of Lope de Rueda which treats a definitely pastoral theme is the *Colloquio llamada Prendas de Amor*. The interlocutors are two shepherds, Menandro and Simon, and the shepherdess Cilena. Menandro and Simon dispute as to which has received the greater mark of affection from the maiden; to Simon she has given an ear-ring and to Menandro a ring. They charge one another with jealousy and Cilena finally appears whom we expect to solve the question. When Menandro appeals to her for a decision, she answers by giving them other presents, declaring that she has not time to tarry. The shepherds then compare notes and each claims to have received the higher mark of favour.

This colloquy with its artificial theme, has no dramatic value and must be regarded simply as affording diversion to some aristocratic gathering which may have been entertained by the dramatic presentation of this casuistical question. As we shall see, questions of this kind were frequently treated in Spain and we know that the Congrega dei Rozzi of Siena² amused itself with *Dubbi*, *Casi* and *Questioni* of the same type and that similar games were popular in Italian society in the sixteenth century.³

¹ I mentioned this similarity in a note entitled *Analogues to the Story of Selvagia in Montemayor's Diana*, *Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxix, 1914, pp. 192-94. The same theme is found considerably developed in the *Comedia Metamorfosea* of Joaquín Romero de Cepeda and in the following Italian pastoral plays of the sixteenth century, the *Discordia d'amore* (1526) of Marco Guazzo, *Lo Sfortunato* (1567) of Argenti and *Gli Intricati* (1581) of Alvise Pasqualigo.

² See C. Mazzi, *La Congrega dei Rozzi*, Firenze, 1882, vol. i, 124 ff.

³ See Renier, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. xiii, 382 ff. Somewhat similar questions are discussed in the *Clareo y Florisea* of Núñez de Reinoso, *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, vol. iii, pp. 442-43. See on the latter the interesting article of Professor

The earliest example which I have found of the dramatic treatment of the *caso de amor* theme in Spain is the anonymous *Comedia Fenisa*, first published in 1540.¹ The interlocutors are three shepherds, Valerio, Marsirio and Silvio, the shepherdess Fenisa and a *bobo*. The three shepherds are enamoured of Fenisa and enter into a contest to determine which shall deserve her affections. Marsirio suggests that each state the reason why he ventures to aspire to her hand:

e visto el dolor estrecho
que todos tres poseemos
y el mal que Amor nos ha hecho;
que los dos la gloria demos
al que tiene mas derecho.

Silvio declares that while pasturing his flock, he had seen Fenisa whose beauty had caused him to faint. The maiden sprinkled water on his face, saying:

Esfuerza, amador.
Ama, ama y persevera:
sabras que cosa es Amor.

Since then she has been ever present in his thoughts. Marsirio relates that he had first seen her beauty by moonlight; he too had fainted, whereupon she said:

De que has pavor?
Vuelve en ti, qu'el amador
mas constancia ha de tener.

Valerio also had swooned at the beauty of Fenisa and she had said to him:

Cierto nunca he visto yo
menos animo en zagal.

Rudolph Schevill, *Some Forms of the Riddle Question and the Exercise of the Wits in Popular Fiction and Formal Literature*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. ii, no. 3, p. 223.

¹ I have not seen the edition of 1540. I have quoted from the version of 1588 which Gallardo reprinted in his little journal, *El Criticón*, Madrid, 1859. Sr. Bonilla has recently republished an edition of 1625 in the *Revue Hispanique*, Paris, vol. xxvii, 1913.

Each claims to have received the greatest mark of favour from the maiden. The *Bobo* then gives his version which shows the tendency to satire which is present in the earliest pastorals. While enjoying a huge meal, he had seen Fenisa who laid a mighty blow on his head with her crook and went away laughing. The three shepherds finally refer the question to Fenisa herself, declaring to her that she will have three deaths on her conscience if she refuses to decide. With some reluctance she expresses her preference for Valerio and the two disappointed suitors depart sorrowfully, inveighing against the fickleness of woman.

This play, in spite of its puerile simplicity, seems to have enjoyed unusual popularity. Not only was it republished at Valladolid in 1588 and at Salamanca in 1625 but also forms the basis of two religious plays of the middle of the sixteenth century, *Colloquio de Fenisa* and *Fide Ypsa*,¹ in which the theme is treated *á lo divino*, preserving many lines of the original. It is likely that Juan de Melgar, to whom the version published in 1625 is attributed, is the *arreglador*, not the author. The analogy between this play and the various themes treated in the Italian *Dubbi* and *Casi d'amore* is clear.

The influence of Italian literature is more clearly seen in the prologues of the three plays of Juan Timoneda, namely, *La Comedia de Amphitrión*, *La Comedia de los Menemnos* and *Comedia llamada Carmelia* (or *Cornelia*), published at Valencia in 1559.² The *Comedia de Amphitrión* contains a prologue recited by Bromio, an old shepherd, Pascuala, his daughter and two young shepherds, Morato and Roseno. After an introductory song, Bromio urges Pascuala to declare

¹ Published by Léo Rouanet, *Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI*, vol. iii, Madrid, 1901.

² These three plays are republished in the *Obras completas de Juan de Timoneda publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos valencianos*, vol. i, Valencia, 1911. *Los Menemnos* was reprinted by Moratín, *Orígenes del teatro español*, Biblioteca de autores españoles, vol. ii, and by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, vol. i, Paris, 1838.

her preference for one of her suitors, Morato or Roseno, both of whom have served her faithfully. The maiden replies that she will indicate her choice by a sign, and turning to the young men, says:

"Sus: Toma, Roseno, esta mi guirnalda, y dame la tuya, Morato. Declarado queda ya, padre mio, a quien mas destos ama mi corazon."

After her departure, the lovers dispute as to the meaning of her enigmatical reply. Each adduces good reasons why he should be considered the favoured one and Bromio finally suggests that they refer the question to the most subtle and enamoured wits in the land. The young shepherds agree and Bromio addresses the audience as follows: "Nobles y apasionados Señores y señoras: la quistion suso dicha dexamos en mano de vuestras mercedes para que declaren a qual destos zagales ama y quiere mas esta zagala; que mañana bolueremos por la respuesta." Morato and Roseno then state the argument of the play and the prologue ends with a song beginning:

Dinos, zagala, qual de los dos
es el tu amado?

This casuistical discussion is derived from the first question in the fourth part of Boccaccio's *Filocolo*. It will be recalled that while searching for Biancofiore, Filocolo is obliged by reason of a storm to stop at Naples where he is cordially received by Fiammetta and her merry companions. One afternoon Fiammetta suggests that they amuse themselves by proposing *questioni d'amore* for solution to a king who shall be elected by her comrades. She herself, however, is chosen queen and thirteen subtle questions are offered for discussion. The first is identical with the subject treated in the prologue of Timoneda's *Amphitrión*.

In the Italian version a young girl is urged by her mother to express her preference for one of her two suitors. "Disse la giovane: ciò mi piace; e rimiratili amenduni alquanto, vide che l'uno avea in testa una bella ghirlanda di fresche erbette

e di fiori, e l'altro senza alcuna ghirlanda dimorava. Allora la giovane, che similemente in capo una ghirlanda di verdi fronde avea, levò quella di capo a se, e a colui che senza ghirlanda le stava davanti la mise in capo; appresso quella che l'altro giovane in capo avea ella prese e a se la pose, e loro lasciati stare, si tornò alla festa," etc. Except that Timoneda substituted the father for the mother of the maiden, the two versions agree.¹

The *Comedia de los Menemnos* is preceded by a prologue in which Cupid and three shepherds, Ginebro, Climaco and Claudino, are the characters. The shepherds, enamoured of the shepherdess Temisa, present themselves before Cupid, asking him to decide which of them the maiden should prefer. Claudino has boasted to Temisa of his physical strength, Climaco has assured her of his sincerity and generosity, while Ginebro has urged his suit on the plea of his prudence and wisdom. Cupid asks which of the lovers she has chosen and Climaco replies that Ginebro has been the favoured one. Cupid approves this choice, declaring that neither the strength of Hercules nor the generosity of Alexander the Great will satisfy a discreet woman, but only the fruits of real knowledge. The rejected suitors are satisfied with this decision and recite the argument of the play.

The subject of this prologue is identical with the theme treated in the third *questione d'amore* of the *Filocolo*. One of

¹ This theme is first suggested in the *Babylonica* of Iamblichus of the second century A. D. and was frequently treated in medieval and Renaissance poetry. See the interesting article of Signor Pio Rajna, *Una questione d'amore*, published in *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad Alessandro d'Inconca*, Firenze, 1901, pp. 553-68 and Adolfo Gaspary, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. ii, parte prima, Torino, 1900, pp. 325-26. The source of this prologue and of the prologue to Timoneda's *Comedia de los Menemnos* was noted by me in an article published in the *Modern Language Review*, vol. ix, April, 1914. I there mentioned the fact that the *Comedia de Amphitruon*, which purports to be a translation or adaptation of the *Amphitruo* of Plautus is merely a stage version of the translation of the *Amphitruo* of Francisco López de Villalobos which first appeared in the year 1515 (?).

the ladies tells Fiammetta that from among her suitors, she has chosen three as most worthy of her love: "de'quali tre, l'uno di corporale fortezza credo che avanzerebbe il buono Ettore, tanto è ad ogni prova vigoroso e forte; la cortesia e la liberalità del secondo è tanta, che la sua fama per ciascun polo credo che suoni; il terzo è di sapienza pieno tanto, che gli altri savii avanza oltra misura." She concludes by asking the advice of Fiammetta who decides the question in favour of the learned man, as is done by Cupid in Timoneda's prologue.¹

The prologue of Timoneda's *Comedia llamada Carmelia* (or *Cornelia*) treats a somewhat analogous theme. Three lovers, Paris, Anteon and Leandro propose to Lamia certain *preguntas de caso de amores*, which deal with sophistical subjects such as these: what is the most potent reason for women to hate men; how is man most pleasing to woman; what gives the greatest offense to a woman's heart; how does affection between lovers most quickly vanish, etc. After Lamia answers these questions, the four interlocutors recite the argument of the play.

The influence of Timoneda is clearly seen in the prologue to Alonso de la Vega's *Comedia de la Duquesa de la Rosa*, published with two other plays of the same author by Timoneda in 1566.² Two shepherds, Falacio and Bruneo, defy Cupid, charging him with causing all the trouble in the world. Cupid bids them yield to his power which is respected by all men; but the shepherds, undaunted by his threats, are about to

¹ The episode of the Thirteen Questions was translated into Spanish by D. Diego López de Ayala, assisted by Diego de Salazar. This translation was published at Seville in the year 1546 with the title *Laberinto de amor* and again at Toledo the same year with the title, *Trece questiones muy graciosas sacadas del Philocolo del famoso Juan Bocacio*. See Pio Rajna, *Le questioni d'amore nel Filocolo*, Romania, vol. xxxi, pp. 28-81 and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, vol. i, Madrid, 1905, pp. cccii-ccci.

² These plays have been reprinted with an introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo, published by the *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*, vol. vi, Dresden, 1905.

lay violent hands upon the tiny god when the shepherdess Doresta enters, urging them to submit since all their efforts to resist will be fruitless. Cupid gives her his bow and arrow, ordering her to strike to the heart the one whom she prefers. Falacio at once calls for mercy as he has been struck by the arrow and Bruneo, also vanquished by Cupid, follows suit. They both declare themselves the slaves of Love and when Doresta asks which she would prefer, Cupid refers the question to the ladies and gentlemen there assembled.

A return to the theme already treated by Gil Vicente in his *Auto pastoril portuguez*, by Montemayor in the narrative of Selvagia, by Lope de Rueda in his *Discordia y question de Amor* and in several Italian plays is found in the *Comedia Metamorfosca* of Joaquín Romero de Cepeda, published in 1582.¹ The division of this play into three acts is purely arbitrary. Three shepherds and three shepherdesses suffer the pains of unrequited love and each blames another for heartlessness. Almost the entire play is occupied with silly proposals followed by brusque refusals after this fashion:

<i>Belisena.</i>	Por mi Medoro suspiro.
<i>Eleno.</i>	Belisena es mi querer.
<i>Albina.</i>	Eleno me ha dado el tiro.
<i>Belisena.</i>	Medoro, vuelte a mi.
<i>Medoro.</i>	Yo no te quiero, pastora.
<i>Eleno.</i>	Belisena, mi señora.
<i>Belisena.</i>	Eleno, dejame aqui.
<i>Albina.</i>	Eleno, mirame agora.
<i>Eleno.</i>	Como se ha de concluir y dar fin a este debate?

Eleno's question is one which naturally occurs to the reader. The author, however, makes a gallant effort to reach a solution. A metamorphosis takes place simultaneously in their hearts and each shepherd or shepherdess expresses his or her love for the person who a moment before had been scorned. This change leads to as difficult a situation as the previous one

¹ Reprinted by Ochoa, *Tesoro del teatro español*, Vol. I, Paris, 1838.

and the author ends the play in despair without reaching a satisfactory conclusion.

With the exception of a few works of Lope de Vega, the *Comedia Metamorfosea* was the last pastoral play printed in Spain in the sixteenth century. The drama as conceived by Torres Naharro and Lope de Rueda had completely triumphed soon after the middle of the sixteenth century and the pastoral plays which appeared after that date may almost be regarded as anachronisms. The pastoral drama contained within itself the cause of its inevitable dissolution: it was not original nor did it represent actual life. Imitative by its very nature, it could not thrive after the drama was no longer restricted to private performances at the palace of some grandee, but was forced to go out on the village square or into an improvised corral to win the plaudits of the crowd. Theatre goers demanded at least an approximation to realism or some human interest, and this demand the pastoral drama failed to supply. To the *comedia de capa y espada* as conceived by Torres Naharro in his *Comedia Himenea*, Gerónimo Bermúdez, Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola and Juan de la Cueva offered new interests, those of national and foreign history. It remained for a man of genius to fuse these disparate elements in order to create a truly national drama, and this man of genius was Lope de Vega.

However, the development of a realistic or historical drama was not the determining factor in the decline of pastoral plays. In spite of the growth of realistic comedy and of heroic tragedy, Italy and England can boast of the composition of the *Aminta*, *Pastor Fido* and *Faithful Shepherdess* at a comparatively late date. The chief reason for the waning of the pastoral drama in Spain in the latter half of the sixteenth century is found in the conditions prevailing in that country. The pastoral play is an artificial product which can flourish only in an artificial environment and this environment was lacking in Spain. The Emperor Charles was not a patron of play-writers, and Philip II was more interested in securing theological works for the Escorial Library and in supporting Arias Montano's

Polyglot Bible than is encouraging the theatre. Nor were there any small literary courts in Spain at this period, like that of Ferrara, where a poet might compose a play with the conventional pastoral atmosphere, containing a veiled panegyric of a generous patron. Through lack of support from the Crown and noblemen of literary tastes, the pastoral drama was doomed, at least temporarily, to extinction.

Two facts are of particular significance in the study of the pastoral drama before Lope de Vega, its independence of the pastoral novel and of the new Italian verse forms. The pastoral novel, which had a glorious career in Spain¹ and which soon became known abroad, left scarcely a trace on the pastoral drama which developed, for the most part, the themes treated by Enzina, Fernández and in the *Egloga de Torino*. The verse forms found in these early works were also accepted as models by later poets, who appear to have been quite ignorant of the profound transformation experienced by Spanish poetry as a result of the innovations of Boscán and Garcilasso de la Vega.²

¹ For the history of the Spanish pastoral novel, see Dr. Hugo A. Rennert, *Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Second edition, Philadelphia, 1913, and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, Vol. I, Madrid, 1907, pp. cdxi-dxviii.

² Sá de Miranda, however, made use of Italian verse forms. See p. 67.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PASTORAL PLAYS OF LOPE DE VEGA AND CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA.

THE earliest work of Lope de Vega of which we have any record is a pastoral play, *El verdadero amante*.¹ If we may believe the statement of the great dramatist himself, he composed it at the age of twelve years since he says in dedicating the play to his son Lope Felix: "I wished to dedicate to you this *comedia* called *The True Lover* because I wrote it when I was of your age, for although at the time it was favourably received, you will recognize in it my crude beginnings; but I do it under the special condition that you do not take it for an *exemplar*, in order that you may not find yourself listened to by many and esteemed by few."² Since Lope Felix was born in 1607 and the play was licensed in October, 1619, it would follow that the play was written when Lope de Vega was in his thirteenth year. He tells us in his *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, that he had composed plays at the age of eleven and twelve in four acts.³ Since *El verdadero amante* is divided into three acts, we may accept Hartzenbusch's suggestion that in preparing the play for publication in 1619, he recast the two first acts of the original into one. If it be true that the play was composed in the author's thirteenth year, and we may

¹ First published at Madrid in 1620 in Part XIV of Lope's *comedias*. It has been reprinted with an introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo in Vol. V of the Spanish Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, Madrid, 1895.

² Quoted from Dr. Hugo A. Rennert's *Life of Lope de Vega*, Glasgow, 1904, p. 97.

³ The only extant *comedia* of Lope in four acts is the *Los hechos de Garcilaso de la Vega y Moro Tarfe*, published in Vol. XI of the Spanish Academy's edition.

make allowance for some exaggeration in this statement, it is evident that it was entirely re-written before publication for it contains bits of versification which indicate maturity of talent, although the puerility of the argument betrays the beginner's hand.

The argument is briefly as follows. The shepherdess Amaranta has married the shepherd Doristo to the great sorrow of Jacinto who had long sought her hand. The disappointed suitor, however, turns his attention to Belarda, who has suffered because of his indifference, and who in turn is courted by Menalca and Coridon. When Doristo dies from some mysterious cause the day after his nuptials, Amaranta looks upon his death as a relief from a union into which she had been forced by her father, and attempts to renew her relations with Jacinto, but finds that his heart is fixed upon Belarda. She then determines to coerce him by spreading the report that her husband had been poisoned by Jacinto, believing that the latter when condemned to death, will consent to marry her in order to save his life, and that the judges will accede to this arrangement. Menalca and Coridon enter into this conspiracy in the belief that if Jacinto be forced to marry Amaranta, they will have no rival for the hand of Belarda.

Jacinto escapes from justice and is tenderly cared for by Belarda, but when he hears that the latter has promised to marry Menalca, he surrenders himself and affirms his guilt. Amaranta then asks that he be released on condition that he marry her, but to the great disappointment of his father whose heart is set on the match, Jacinto refuses to give his assent. Coridon, seeing that Menalca alone will profit by the death of Jacinto in being left without a rival for the hand of Belarda, confesses his part in the false testimony. A magistrate then settles the question by decreeing the marriage of Jacinto and Belarda who had been ever faithful to him, and the fellow conspirators Amaranta and Menalca are also joined in marriage.

There is no evidence that Lope de Vega was influenced by any of the earlier Spanish pastoral plays in composing *El*

verdadero amante nor has any Italian source been assigned to it, but by reason of its length, the large number of characters introduced, the attempt to secure dramatic effect by the false accusation against Jacinto and the presence of Italian verse forms such as *quintillas*, *silvas*, *tercetos* and *versos sueltos*, we are led to suppose that the author was acquainted with the *Aminta* and its progeny.

Lope's second pastoral play was first published in 1617¹ with the title *Los Jacintos y celoso de si mismo* and in 1623 was included in the Part XVIII of Lope's comedias with the title *La pastoral de Jacinto*. Its date of composition is not certain. Montalván relates in his *Fama postuma*, that after a youthful escapade, "Lope returned to Madrid; not having much means, as a help to his support, he entered the service of Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop of Avila, whom he greatly pleased by a number of eclogues written in his honour, and also the *comedia La pastoral de Jacinto*, which was the first play in three acts that he wrote."² Dr. Rennert conjectures from this statement and other evidence that the play may have been composed before 1582.³ The name Albania given to the heroine, who as Menéndez y Pelayo conjectured, may well have been some lady of the Alba family, and the statement that the shepherd Jacinto had come from the shores of the Tormes to the banks of the Tagus, seem to show that at least part of the play was composed after 1590 when Lope entered the service of the young Don Antonio, Duke of Alba.⁴

The shepherd Jacinto, after an absence of two years, returns to his beloved Albania and hears from her own lips that she loves only Jacinto. The shepherd, however, is sadly lacking in self-assurance, for he immediately suspects that there is

¹ In the volume entitled *Cuatro comedias famosas de D. Luis de Góngora y Lope de Vega Carpio, recopiladas por Antonio Sanchez*, Madrid.

² Quoted from H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 13.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

another Jacinto upon whom the maiden's heart is set. This suspicion is confirmed by Frondelio's impersonation of this supposed rival Jacinto so that Doriano may win the hand of Albania. The latter takes advantage of every opportunity to declare her love for Jacinto, but the overmodest suitor believes that her words refer to his homonymous rival and like another Orlando, makes a mad attack upon four rustics and

va como toro furioso
con la cola hiriendo el anca;
hierba y cespedes arranca.

After mutual recriminations, the deceit of Frondelio is discovered and Jacinto and Albania are united.

In spite of some fine bits of verse, this play is one of the most tiresome in the whole Spanish drama. The argument is devoid of common sense and is childish both in conception and execution. The author implies in his dedication that he had treated in the pastoral manner "lo que por ventura pasaba en los suntuosos palacios de los Príncipes," but if this be true, he must have allowed himself considerable poetic license in his treatment of the theme. He employed a bewildering array of verse forms, including sonnets, octaves, *liras*, *sestinas* and lumbering *esdrújulos*. The most charitable thing that can be said of the play is that it was the work of a very young man.

Belardo el furioso, mentioned in the first list of *El peregrino en su patria* (1604), remained not only inedited but also unknown until recently published by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo.¹ Its date of composition must be assigned to the early years of the poet. The first act agrees in all essential particulars with *La Dorotea* and the play is chiefly interesting as confirming the autobiographical character of the latter and the identity of Don Fernando, who here presents himself on the stage with Lope's well-known pseudonym Belardo.

At the opening of the play, Jacinta tells Belardo of her un-

¹ In Vol. V of the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

dying love for him. Her uncle, Pinardo, however, decries her folly in joining her lot with that of a poor man and asks quite pertinently:

Como piensas pasar el frio invierno
a lumbre de papeles y palabras?

He suggests that she transfer her affection to the wealthy shepherd Nemoroso, the fickle maiden consents and plights her troth to him. When Belardo learns the truth, he determines to leave the country and with a trumped-up story of being obliged to flee for having killed a man, he secures his traveling expenses from Cristalina, who has ever been faithful in her love for him, and destroys all the keepsakes which he possesses of the faithless Jacinta.

The unhappy lover is not able long to bear the pangs of absence and on his return is informed that Jacinta has married Nemoroso. On hearing that his dream of happiness has been irrevocably shattered, he attacks Pinardo, charging him with having arranged the sale of Jacinta to her rich suitor and threatens to kill Nemoroso on sight. Siralbo, his squire, tries to appease the madman and plans a mock duel by impersonating Nemoroso. They fight with reeds, Siralbo falls and Belardo departs, satisfied that he has killed his enemy. He meets Jacinta at the marriage of the rustics Bato and Amarili and attempts to do her violence, but she succeeds in escaping by a ruse. Belardo then declares that Jacinta, like another Eurydice, had been bitten by an adder and that like Orpheus, he must descend to hell to reclaim her. Siralbo urges upon Jacinta the necessity of saving her old lover from his madness, takes her to the spot where Belardo is about to make the descent and utters a conjuration. Jacinta opportunely appears, Belardo recovers his wits, offers her his love and is accepted. Nemoroso attempts to avenge himself upon Belardo and Cristalina tries to take the life of Jacinta who has robbed her of Belardo's love, each then strives to protect the object of his or her love, and they finally consent to marry when all

impediments to the union of Belardo and Jacinta have been removed.

The influence of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* is evident, not only in the title, but also in the scenes describing the madness of Belardo, and certain scenes such as the mock combat between Siralbo and Belardo recall *Don Quixote* although the early date of the play seems to preclude the possibility of imitation. A few comic incidents occur such as the events attending the marriage of Bato and Amarili which are not found in the earlier pastorals of Lope. The latter part of the play is clearly a burlesque of the Orpheus and Eurydice story.

It was pointed out by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo that the first act is almost identical with the story treated in Lope's *Dorotea*. Dorotea here appears as Jacinta, Pinardo corresponds to Gerarda in the novel and Cristalina who unselfishly gives her jewels to aid Belardo's escape is called Marfisca in the later version.¹ In spite of its evident defects, this play has far more dramatic interest than *El verdadero amante* or *La pastoral de Jacinto*.

The pastoral comedy, *La Arcadia*, was first published in the *Trezena parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio* in the year 1620 with a dedication to Dr. Gregorio López Madera.² In the prologue to this volume, Lope complains bitterly that certain persons had committed his plays to memory in the theatre and had then sold incorrect versions to unscrupulous theatrical managers. Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa speaks of this reprehensible custom in his *Plaza universal de todas ciencias* (1615) and mentions particularly that *La Dama boba*, *El Príncipe perfeto*, *La Arcadia* and *El Galan de la Membrilla* had been memorized in this fashion by a certain Luis Remírez de Arellano. It is evident that these four plays had been produced at Madrid shortly before 1615 and for all of these, with

¹ The autobiographical character of *La Dorotea* has been explained by Dr. H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, pp. 48-59.

² Reprinted with an introduction by Señor Menéndez y Pelayo in Vol. V of the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

the exception of *La Arcadia*, we have autograph manuscripts which prove that they were composed between the years 1613 and 1615. Since Figueroa mentions *La Dama boba* and *El Principe perfeto* in the order in which they were written, it may not be unwarranted to infer that *La Arcadia* was written and acted between *El Principe perfeto* and *El Galan de la Membrilla*, that is, between December 23, 1614 and April 20, 1615. It is true that *La Arcadia* shows certain characteristics of Lope's early style, but it seems hardly probable that a play of so little intrinsic merit should have held the stage for thirteen years, supposing that after 1602 Lope substituted the *figura del donayre* for the *simple* and *rústico*. However, just as we know that in a number of comedias written after 1602, Lope omitted the *figura del donayre*, so it has never been proved that he gave up entirely the use of the *simple* and *rústico* after that date. In the absence of such proof, the evidence seems to favour the early part of the year 1615 as the date of composition of *La Arcadia*.¹

The story treated in the play is briefly as follows. Ergasto insists that his daughter Belisarda marry Salicio and invites the shepherds and shepherdesses of Arcadia to solemnize the betrothal at the temple of Venus. Anfriso, who has loved the maiden for six years, accuses her of inconstancy, but she replies that she will poison herself rather than consent to marriage with Salicio. Anfriso declares that he will not long survive her. A witty rustic, Cardenio, determines to prevent the betrothal because on one occasion Anfriso had saved his life, and hiding behind the statue of the goddess, he pronounces these oracular words:

Para que quieres casarte,
Salicio? Porque cualquiera
que con Belisarda case,
Jupiter divino ordena

¹ I have presented the above-mentioned arguments for this date in a note published in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. III, 1907, pp. 40-42.

que a tres dias desde el dia
que esté casado con ella,
muera por justo castigo
de la locura y soberbia
que contra la diosa Venus
tuvo su madre Laurencia.
haciendose mas hermosa.

The betrothal party breaks up in disorder and Salicio renounces his claims to Belisarda, preferring to live rather than be happy for only three days. Cardenio leaves the temple thoroughly satisfied with the sensation which he has created and exclaims:

Oh religion de los hombres!
Cuanto puedes, pues has hecho
que esta mi voz jumentil
pase por tiple del cielo!

Olimpo, Anfriso's best-man, falls in love with Belisarda and Anarda offers him her aid because she in turn is enamoured of Anfriso. When Belisarda writes a letter to Olimpo rejecting his suit, Anarda takes it to Anfriso and by a few ingenious changes in punctuation, convinces him that he is no longer loved by Belisarda. In order to quiet the pangs of unrequited love, Anfriso then avows his affection for Anarda, thereby arousing the jealousy of Belisarda who promises to avenge herself. The lovers are finally reconciled when Anarda's deceit is discovered, and Silvio offers to die in order that Belisarda will then be free to marry Anfriso and thereby fulfil the ominous oracle of the goddess. Anfriso refuses to accept this generous sacrifice of his friend and demands the right to marry Belisarda even though it cause his death. Olimpo and Salicio make a similar offer and it is decided that the lovers draw lots for the privilege of dying for and marrying the popular shepherdess. At this point the goddess Venus herself appears, discloses the stratagem practised by Cardenio and decrees the union of Anfriso and Belisarda. Ergasto accedes to the divine command and also ordains the marriage of Olimpo and Anarda.

It is well known that this *comedia* has the same argument as Lope de Vega's pastoral romance, *La Arcadia*, published in 1598, in which he celebrated the love affairs of his patron, Don Antonio, Duke of Alba. However, not all the incidents of the novel were included in the play, the comic scenes in which Cardenio and Bato figure being especially developed in the latter.

There is no doubt that Lope intended this *comedia* as a burlesque of certain motives of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*. The setting is practically the same, the oracular pronouncement of Cardenio is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the edict of Diana in the *Pastor Fido* whereby any nymph found guilty of a breach of faith should suffer death at the altar unless some one offered to die in her place. It should also be noted that Anarda here plays a similar rôle to that of Corisca in Guarini's play. The narrowly averted sacrifice of Mirtillo in the *Pastor Fido* is recalled in Cardenio's burlesque account of how he had tried to put to death two kids:

Apenas puse el cuchillo
para degollar el uno,
cuando estas palabras dijo:
" No me mates, que no soy
cabrito, porque soy hijo
de la pastora Macania
y del satiro Cantinios."
Soltéle, Bato, y al punto
se fue al campo dando gritos.

.....

BATO.

Cosa me has dicho
que me ha de matar de miedo.
Aunque me lo den cocido,
no he de comer en mi vida
cabrito ni corderillo.
Está de suerte el Arcadia
con estas ninfas y ninfos,
satiros, faunos y trasgos,
cinoprosopios, esfincos,
que no saben los pastores
cuál es cabrito o cuál niño.

In speaking of his play in the dedication, Lope declares: "puesto que es de pastores de la Arcadia, no carece de la imitacion antigua, si bien el uso de Españo no admite las rusticas Bucolicas de Teocrito, antiguamente imitadas del famoso poeta Lope de Rueda." As Señor Menéndez y Pelayo has noted in his introduction, there is little influence of classical pastoral poetry discernible in the play, aside from the disguise of a wolf assumed by Bato in order to win Flora, which is derived from *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus. We may regard it as a free imitation of *Il Pastor Fido*, with burlesque scenes taken over from earlier Spanish plays.

When Philip IV ascended the throne at the age of sixteen in 1621, the drama secured an all-powerful patron. Philip II seems to have lent no support to the stage and although Philip III had a theatre built in the palace for private representations, this was probably due more to the delight taken by the Queen in these performances than to any interest of his own. Philip IV, however, was passionately fond of plays, playwrights and actresses throughout his whole life.¹ At the age of nine, he took the part of Cupid in a mythological representation performed before the King and Queen and ladies of the court. The year after his accession to the throne, no less than forty-five comedias were presented in the Queen's apartments, and a little later, private functions were given in the royal gardens at Aranjuez and in the Alcázar. After 1632, court performances were produced with great splendor at the magnificent theatre of the Buen Retiro which had been constructed at the King's orders, and spectacles were also represented upon the pond in the gardens. Conditions somewhat similar to those which prevailed at Ferrara in the sixteenth century favored the development of a courtly drama.

Lope de Vega's pastoral eclogue *La Selva sin amor* was presented before Philip IV and the royal family sometime prior

¹ For further details, see H. A. Rennert, *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega*, New York, 1909, Chapter XI.

to November 22, 1629.¹ The poet says in his dedication to the Almirante de Castilla that "esta egloga se representó cantada a SS. MM. y AA., cosa nueva en España," and that "la maquina del teatro hizo Cosmo Lotti, ingeniero florentin, por quien S. M. envió a Italia para que asistiese a su servicio en jardines, fuentes y otras cosas, en que tiene raro y excelente ingenio." On the basis of this statement, Francisco Barbieri² and Menéndez y Pelayo declared that *La Selva sin amor* is an opera libretto which anticipates by many years the first operatic performances in England and France. Menéndez y Pelayo further stated that since Lope himself calls it a "new thing in Spain," we may believe that it was an imitation of Italian opera as conceived and executed in the closing years of the sixteenth century at Florence by Jacopo Peri, Julio Caccini and Ottavio Rinuccini, and that the score was written by some Italian composer.

A fortunate discovery by Señor Felipe Pedrell of a fragment of the score of Calderón's play, *El Jardín de Falerina*, and of other music of the first half of the seventeenth century, has enabled him to rectify these conclusions.³ According to Señor Pedrell, when Lope calls his play "a new thing in Spain," he refers merely to the scenic effects and theatrical devices constructed by Cosme Lotti, and which he describes in detail in his dedication. He shows that the fragment of the score of *El Jardín de Falerina*, produced the same year as *La Selva sin amor*, betrays no influence of the new form of music

¹ First published in the *Laurel de Apolo, con otras rimas*, Madrid, 1630. It has been reprinted with an introduction by Menéndez y Pelayo in Vol. V of the Spanish Academy's edition of the works of Lope de Vega.

² In the prologue to Carmena y Milán's *Crónica de la Ópera italiana en Madrid desde el año 1738 hasta nuestros días*, Madrid, 1878. The statements of Barbieri were quoted and amplified in Menéndez y Pelayo's introduction to *La Selva sin amor*, in Vol. V of the Spanish Academy's edition of Lope de Vega.

³ See Felipe Pedrell, *Teatro lírico español anterior al siglo XIX* in five parts, published at La Coruña, 1897-98.

dominant in Italy and proves by internal evidence that only five portions could have been sung, namely, *el Coro de los tres Amores*, *el Coro de Filis y Flora*, *el Coro de todos* at the end of the eclogue, the four strophes between Silvio and Filis and the four between Jacinto and Silvio, which were sung in alternate verses. The basis of the choral music was the polyphonic madrigal, and the strophic portions aimed at producing pure melody in accordance with the laws of polyphonia. The rest of the eclogue must have been recited, since the resources of the musicians of that time were not sufficiently developed to give "*un andamento vivo abbastanza*" so that these long dialogues could be sung in the recitative style. While Señor Pedrell deprives Spain of whatever honor there may be in having received Italian opera earlier than England and France, he shows that Spanish music throughout the seventeenth century was a native product. The combination of song and recitation, first found in the Spanish drama in the plays of Juan del Enzina, was to receive the name of *sarzuela* in the time of Calderón.¹

In the prologue, Venus appears in a chariot drawn by swans. She perceives Cupid who tells her that he is amusing himself by changing the water into fire and throwing the gods of the waves into confusion with his deadly arrows. She reproves him for playing like a child, reminding him that he is as old as Time himself, and that one who has conquered Mars and the mighty Jupiter should not waste his time with Nereids and Tritons. He inquires what greater deeds await him and Venus replies that in the court of Spain where Philip and the divine Isabel reign in peace, there is a loveless forest dedicated to Daphne where beauty reigns and where the laws of Love are not observed. Cupid at once offers to leave for Spain and assures her of his certain victory:

¹ On the origin of the lyrical drama in Italy, see A. Solerti, *Gli Albori del Melodramma*, vol. i, 1904.

Ya parece que veo
 las aves suspirar, arder las flores,
 las fuentes dilatarse en plata viva,
 y quejarse la cierva fugitiva.
 Así, selva traidora,
 así, que sois agora
 el reino de la nieve!
 Manzanares se atreve
 a no pagar tributo al poder mio?

The scene changes to a forest on the banks of the Manzanares in full view of the Casa de Campo and Royal Palace. The maid Filis appears, extolling the life of freedom and Silvio, a shepherd who mourns the pangs of unrequited love. He accosts the shepherdess, asking the reason of her coldness and offers her as gifts some birds which he himself has caught. She refuses to listen to his plea and taking the cage in her hands, opens the door to signify that she means to be free as they. Silvio accuses her of being pitiful to all things except to him, and reminds her that her beauty will fade with years.¹ Filis replies that Love is mad and blind and that she wishes to know nothing of it. As she retires, he inveighs against her cruelty and declares that he cannot survive his sorrow.

His friend Jacinto hears the laments of the lovelorn Silvio and asks him the cause of his grief. Silvio replies that he has been driven to the point of desiring to end his life by the dis-

¹ Compare Dafne's advice to Silvia in Tasso's *Aminta*, Act I, ll. 170-181:

Tu prendi a gabbo i miei fidi consigli,
 E burli mie ragioni, o in amore
 Sorda non men che sciocca! Ma va pure,
 Che verra tempo che ti pentirai
 Non averli seguiti. E già non dico
 Allor che fuggirai le fonti, ov'ora
 Spesso ti specchi e forse ti vagheggi,
 Allor che fuggirai le fonti, solo
 Per tema di vederti crespa e brutta:
 Questo avverratti ben; ma non t'annunzio
 Gia questo solo, che, ben ch'è gran male,
 E pero mal comune.

dain of Filis and tells how he had first seen her seated beside a spring:

En esta fuente fria
a Filis vi sentada,
el cabello esparcido
al viento y al olvido,
de sus mismas acciones olvidada,
pareciendo sirena,
con lineas de oro candida azucena.

Quedé sin vida en viendo
su hermosura, Jacinto;
y ella, en viendome a mi, las bellas plantas
dio tan ligera huyendo
al verde laberinto,
que venciera Camilas y Atalantas, etc.¹

He says that he had asked certain shepherds about her and they had replied that the nymphs who dwell on the shores of the Manzanares refuse to listen to the call of Love. Jacinto sympathizes with him, since Flora shows a similar disdain for his suit. Silvio asks how he is able to live without the love of Flora and Jacinto replies, following the advice given by Ovid in his *Remedia amoris*:²

Huyo la ociosidad, que en casos tales
con ella son mayores;
pongo a las aves lazos, siembro flores
o persigo los ciervos fugitivos;
planto vides y olivos,
o saco de los corchos otras veces
los panales nativos,
o pongo cebo dulce a simples peces.

Silvio and Jacinto retire and Cupid, accompanied by three *amoretti*, appears. He gracefully sings in praise of the King and Queen and of Maria, Queen of Hungary, and Fernando, and then prepares to chastise the nymphs of the Loveless Forest for their indifference to his commands. Filis and Flora

¹ Compare Tasso's *Aminta*, Act II, Scene II, ll. 34 ff.

² II, 199-210.

appear who defy the little god and declare war upon him and boastfully describe the cruel fashion in which they have repulsed the advances of their lovers. Cupid lets fly his arrows and the maidens at once are conscious of the gentle passion by which they are tormented:

Filis. Repara, Flora, y mira
que aquella blanca tortola suspira;
no ves aquella cierva
llamar el gamo, y él pacer la yerba
ocioso y descuidado?
El arroyuelo deste ameno prado
sale a besar las flores,
con lengua de cristal las dice amores:
Que novedad es esta?¹

Flora. Ay Filis! Por que causa
alma quejosa apresta
al aire filomena en voz suave,
ya trina, ya se queda en dulce pausa?²

Filis. Advierte que no hay ave
que no cante de amor; todo suspira.
Mira estas vidas, mira
como con verdes rubricas se enlazan
a estos olmos que abrazan.³

¹ Compare Dafne's attempt to persuade Silvia to heed the call of Love in the *Aminta*, Act I:

Stimi dunque nimico
Il tortore a la fida tortorella?

² Compare *Aminta*, Act I, ll. 137-42.

Mira là quel colombo
con che dolce susurro lusingando
bacia la sua compagna;
odi quel lusignuolo
che va di ramo in ramo
cantando: io amo, io amo.

³ Compare *Aminta*, Act I, ll. 151-53:

Veder puoi con quanto affetto
e con quanti iterati abbracciamenti
la vite s'avvitiechia a'l suo marito.

When the maidens feel the divine fire in their veins, they express the desire to see their lovers, but Jacinto and Silvio have been smitten by the god's leaden arrow and rudely repulse the overtures of Filis and Flora, a transformation taking place similar to that found in the *Comedia llamada discordia y question de Amor*, attributed to Lope de Rueda. Cupid is delighted that the vengeance of his mother is complete and declares that *la selva sin amor* will be called henceforth *selva de amores*. The Manzanares then protests that its waves have been changed into fire by the god and threatens violence, whereupon Cupid calls upon Venus for aid. The latter appears at his summons to punish the Manzanares for its presumption:

Esta flecha te envio,
que tu corriente seque en el verano,
tanto, que por tu margen, siempre amena,
seas cadaver de abrasada arena;
vera tu centro el sol.

The Manzanares pleads in vain for pity and then asks upon whom its affection must be fixed. Cupid replies:

Yo hare que bajen a bañarse damas,
que por Julio le abrasen en sus llamas.

Before departing with Venus, he strikes the shepherds with his golden shaft so that Jacinto, Flora, Silvio and Filis are united.

The plot and treatment seem to have been original with Lope de Vega although certain passages offer striking analogies with Tasso's *Aminta* which had been translated into Castilian by Juan de Jaureguí in 1607, but which Lope might easily have read in the original. Unfortunately the score of this production is not extant, but we may agree with Señor Menéndez y Pelayo that perhaps the sweetest music heard at the entertainment were the charming verses of the author. Composed toward the end of Lope's career, *La selva sin amor* contains passages which show his great poetical gifts at their very best.

The only pastoral play which bears the name of Calderón de la Barca is *El Pastor Fido*,¹ and of this he wrote only the third *jornada*, the other two acts being composed by Antonio Solis and Antonio Coello. In its general outline, it is an abridged adaptation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*.² As in its Italian prototype, the play turns on the edict of Diana that any nymph found guilty of infidelity must suffer death unless some one offer to die in her place and also the custom whereby a young girl is sacrificed annually to the goddess to expiate an old offense. In both plays, the oracle declares:

No tendra fin el daño que os ofende
hasta que junte amor dos semideos,
y de una infiel mujer los devaneos
la alta piedad de un pastor fido enmiende.³

Silvio and Amarili alone in Arcadia fulfil these conditions, and when the play opens, their marriage is imminent. The devotion of Silvio to the chase causing him to scorn Amarili, the despair of Mirtilo at Amarili's coldness, the trick by which Mirtilo and Amarili are found together in the recesses of a cave, the death-sentence passed upon Amarili for infidelity to Silvio, the offer of Mirtilo to take her place at the altar, the

¹ The date of composition of this play is not known. It was published for the second time in 1656. I have used the edition contained in Vol. XIV of the *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*.

² A Spanish translation of *Il Pastor Fido* by Cristóbal Suárez appeared at Naples in 1602 and another version by Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa at Valencia in 1609. On the connection between these two versions, see J. P. W. Crawford, *The Life and Works of Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa*, Philadelphia, 1907, pp. 22-29, and the Spanish translation of the same by Narciso Alonso Cortés, *Vida y Obras de Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa*, Valladolid, 1911, p. 26.

³ *El Pastor Fido*, Act I. Compare the same passage in *Il Pastor Fido*:

Non avrà prima fin quel che v'offende,
che duo semi del ciel congiunga amore:
e di donna infedel l'antico errore
l'alta pietà d'un pastor fido ammende.

discovery that he is the son of Nicandro and that the conditions of the oracle will be fulfilled by the marriage of Mirtilo and Amarili, are faithfully reproduced from Guarini's play, although there are few examples of verbal similarity. Corisca's part in bringing Mirtilo and Amarili together in the cave because of her own love for Silvio is played in the Spanish version by Dorinda. In the Spanish play, Corisca is quite innocuous and serves merely as a foil for the *Sátiro*. The latter is almost the conventional *bobo* and furnishes most of the comic element. He ridicules the love-madness of Mirtilo and rejects the advances of Corisca, saying:

Que no hay humana ley que haya dispuesto
que el satiro sea siempre deshonesto.
.....
Porque soy muy devoto de Diana,
y tengo mucha gana
de juntar de mi dote algunos reales
para entrarme en las virgenes bestiales.

He shows his disrespect for holy things by taking his place behind the altar, and on receipt of various presents, advising the shepherds and shepherdesses who come to consult the goddess, a scene probably derived from Lope de Vega's *La Arcadia*.

The Spanish adaptation of *Il Pastor Fido* by the three *ingenios* can not be regarded as successful. Its lack of unity is perhaps due to the collaboration and it contains little real poetry. The artificial conceits of the period are too prominent and only in the last scene do we find any dramatic power. The play is chiefly interesting as an isolated attempt to present Guarini's story on the Spanish stage, and shows once more the connection between Spanish and Italian pastoral drama which we find first in Enzina's *Egloga de tres pastores*.

The mythological pieces of Calderón, such as *El Golfo de las Sirenas*, *El Laurel de Apolo*, *La Purpura de la Rosa*, *Celos aun del aire matan* and *Eco y Narciso*, fall outside the limits of the present study and are only of interest here in showing

how the author combined the atmosphere and machinery of *Il Pastor Fido* with material derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. It is true that mythological figures appear in the plays of Juan del Enzina and others, but the old pastoral tradition came to an end when classical stories were made the basis of the action. In many respects these works are the least interesting of Calderón's compositions. It was inevitable that dramatic interest should suffer in these courtly productions which aimed chiefly to delight the eye with gorgeous scenic effects. These plays may not be regarded as opera librettos. They represent the same combination of recitation and song which we have found in Lope de Vega's *La Selva sin Amor* and which after 1629 received the name *sarzuela*. In a number of passages, as for example in the Loa to *El Laurel de Apolo*, performed in 1657, Calderón speaks of the *sarzuela* as a new form of entertainment borrowed from Italy:

No es comedia, sino solo
una fabula pequeña
en que, a imitacion de Italia,
se canta y se representa.

Although it may be admitted that the importance attached to song was derived from Italy, Señor Pedrell¹ has shown that the music itself and the combination of recitation and song were essentially Spanish products. The further development of the *sarsuela* must be sought in the history of the lyrical drama.

It is true that no pastoral play in Spain can stand comparison with the *Aminta*, *Il Pastor Fido* or *The Faithful Shepherdess*, nor did they exercise any considerable influence upon the creation of the Spanish national drama. These entertainments of royal courts and aristocratic companies are far removed from the heroic *comedias* and *comedias de capa y espada* to which the dramatic literature of Spain owes its fame. Except for occasional burlesque scenes, their whole

¹ *Teatro lírico español*, Vol. III-V.

spirit is artificial. The poets themselves had too keen a sense of humor and appreciation for reality to treat seriously these conventional love affairs of sighing shepherds and shepherdesses. Even Enzina could not write of the unhappy love of Fileno without introducing the comic scene of Zambardo falling asleep over the lover's account of his hopeless passion, and Don Bela doubtless expressed Lope de Vega's own feelings when he says in *La Dorotea*:¹ "Esto de pastores, todo es arroyuelos y margenes, y siempre cantan ellos o sus pastoras: deseo ver un dia un pastor que esté assentado en banco, y no siempre en una peña, o junto a una fuente." No pastoral poet in Spain understood, like Gil Vicente, the charm of untaught simplicity. We may claim for the pastoral drama, however, the distinction of having produced many of the earliest Spanish plays, of having contributed to the creation of the farce, and of inaugurating the Spanish lyrical drama. It is hoped that this study will not only cast new light on early Spanish dramatic literature, but will also furnish additional material for the history of the Renaissance in Spain.

¹ *La Dorotea de Fray Lope de Vega*, Biblioteca Renacimiento, Madrid, 1913, p. 95.

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